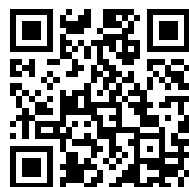

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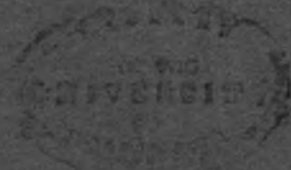
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NUMBER 1

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

JANUARY, 1922

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The *Harvard Theological Review* is an undenominational theological quarterly, established by the aid of the bequest of Miss Mildred Everett, daughter of Reverend Charles Carroll Everett, D.D., Bussey Professor of Theology in the Harvard Divinity School, 1869-1900, and Dean of the School, 1878-1900.

The scope of the Review embraces theology, ethics, the history and philosophy of religion, and cognate subjects. It aims to publish investigations, discussions, and reviews, which contribute to the enlargement of knowledge or the advance of thought. From time to time it will present surveys of recent literature in the various fields of learning that fall within its cognizance.

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HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XV

JANUARY, 1922

NUMBER 1

THE SOCIAL TRANSLATION OF THE GOSPEL *

HENRY J. CADBURY

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THERE is a mediaeval Italian painting which has long been a favorite of mine and of which copies hang in the studies of many men of my profession. It is a picture of St. Jerome translating the scriptures. The miscellaneous assortment of friendly beasts with which the artist has enlivened an otherwise quiet scene at first attracted my childish mind, but now that I have become a man I find the picture still attractive. It is more than an imaginative picture of an historic figure or an historic event or even of a single profession. It is symbolic, and it means something not merely to the student but also to the preacher and the layman.

For every Christian life taken seriously is a task of translation. Not only those who teach Greek and Hebrew, and students thumbing their dictionaries are translators; all teaching and preaching and living is a work of translation. The men who constructed our systems of theology have been rendering history and experience into a different language. The builders of cathedrals were translators of the gospel. The message of good news has been rendered into the plastic speech of character by Christian teachers, and, again, by the unknown, uncalendared saints of all ages and lands. And now for many years there has been a demand for another translation — the social translation of the gospel.

I need not dwell on the urgency of this demand. Before the war the study of the New Testament from the social standpoint

* An address delivered at the opening of Andover Theological Seminary and the Harvard Divinity School, September 27, 1921.

was one of the two principal new characteristics of the theological study of our generation. The events of the last decade have only intensified this interest. In a world desperately aware of failure and need there is pretty general agreement that the original message of Jesus offers the only cure. It is not only those most friendly to the church who accept the alternative "Christ or chaos." But the Christian church does accept it, and its best minds are engaged in the effort to discover what the social task of the church may be. It is not therefore as something new or as something requiring fresh emphasis that I choose my subject, but rather — at the risk of being trite — I select it as the leading religious question of the day.

What needs emphasis in my title is not the word 'social' but the word 'translation.' That eager expectancy of our age for a social gospel, that blind confidence that Christ can settle all our problems, is not to be discouraged; but it is important for us to realize, above all if we are to teach the Christian religion, that there is a process of translation required which is by no means simple or easy. And it is our business, the especial duty of academic students and teachers, to qualify ourselves for the work of translation. We are altogether too likely to be superficial in this — and superficiality leads to dogmatism. The Christian teacher is expected to know the Christian answer to social problems. Woe to him if he hastily skips the painstaking process of translation.

For we need to be reminded how far the gospel is from our own preconceived requirements. The teaching of Jesus as it is recorded for us in the oldest and most reliable strata of tradition was not primarily social teaching. Too much has recently been read into and out of such a phrase as 'the Kingdom of God' or the word 'Father.' It is doubtful whether wide implications for human society were in Jesus' mind when he used these terms. The gospels are strikingly lacking in much that has become most prominent in our thought and conscience. We miss in them, in the first place, explicit teaching on social institutions. Jesus takes these for granted, — slavery, monogamy, private property, taxation, and the rest. What his teaching involves with regard to these as moral or religious

problems cannot be discovered by merely citing a parable that mentions them or by the absence of specific judgments against them. Search the gospels through, and you will find only one definite social institution on which Jesus seems to pronounce judgment, and that is the restricted question of the re-marriage of divorced persons.

In the second place we miss in the gospels the definition of collective duty. One of the strangest transitions of recent years and one to which Christian preaching has very imperfectly adjusted itself — still less Christian liturgy and hymnody — is the new sense of corporate guilt and corporate duty. The gospels have much to say about sin and repentance for the individual on his own account, but recently personal sin has gone out of style. This is partly due to our natural dislike of unpleasant subjects and partly to a new and baffling sense of corporate responsibility in which the individual easily shirks his part. The Christian world is perhaps no less appalled now with the sense of failure than were the sin-sensitive Puritans of early New England. Certainly Christendom has reason to be aware of its failure, but the gospels do not directly express this kind of corporate guilt. In the old question, What shall I do to be saved? the pronoun has been changed to the plural, What shall *we* do to be saved? The old terminology of personal sin does not suit this religious experience, and it only too easily enables us to get out from under it, by assigning the guilt to others rather than to ourselves. The war, we know now, was not the private misdeed of any one of us; therefore, since personal sin is the only kind we recognize, we put the blame for it entirely on other people. It is true that in Paul's views of the heritage of sin from Adam, Scripture supplies after a sort a sense of solidarity in guilt, and in Satan offers a form of supra-personal wickedness; but neither of these doctrines exactly meets our need. We lack in the gospel that solidarity of guilt, and still more that solidarity in repentance, which is the only hope of a transformed world.

In the third place we miss in the gospel the social motive. Few Christians and even few scholars realize how totally absent from the Synoptic teaching is the appeal to the social motive.

Social acts are often commended, but the motive appealed to is never the need of the neighbor. Even the parable of the Good Samaritan — the classic of modern social ideals — really illustrates this. From the question, Who is my neighbor? Jesus turns to the question, Who acts as neighbor? He emphasizes the evils that fall upon the perpetrator of social wrong. The hater jeopardizes his own soul; the rich man can scarcely enter the kingdom; the censorious and unforgiving suffer a punishment in kind. Not once in his extant teaching does Jesus appeal to the rights of other men, the duties which they may legitimately expect of a Christian. Jesus seemed to be always interested in the subject of a social act, not in the person who was its object. He aimed not directly at a saved society but at a society of savers. Perhaps this is social motive enough, the *noblesse oblige* of a spontaneous Christian conscience. It is possible that we are too much afraid of the motives of reward and punishment and that we lay too much stress on a kind of sentimental altruism as the main-spring of correct social action. But whether for better or worse, the social motive of Jesus, with its apparent individualism, is not the motive we are used to; and it is well to realize that nearly every familiar form of social ideal is conspicuous by its absence from the gospels.

These three illustrations suffice to show how really the gospel of Jesus needs translation if it is to meet the demands of our day. It is not merely that our social problems are different problems, it is that our whole approach is from a different angle. Even were our angle the same, some translation would be needed. In spite of its lack of explicit commands, one feels that the teaching of Jesus has certain principles which are as applicable to the problems of our time as they were to his own. But if we wish to find them out accurately and not merely to accept as Jesus' principles the ready formulas made by other men, that are neither scriptural nor accurate, we must submit to the labor of study and translation.

Let me illustrate with a familiar parallel. In these days of educational superficiality and so-called vocational efficiency, theological seminaries feel the pressure from students for the abandonment of the required study of Greek and Hebrew. Many

men who hope to maintain their self-respect in the ministry are apparently willing to accept the current English translations of the Bible, without knowing a jot or a tittle of the original tongues. On the merits of that controversy I will not speak, but in the matter for which that is a parable, the social translation of the gospel, no educated minister dare evade a study of the underlying basis. He cannot accept second-hand the work of others; he must study the life and teaching of Jesus; he must keep himself constantly qualified to consult the original, and as far as possible must live in its atmosphere and spirit.

Stated in another way the gist of what I am saying is this: We believe that Jesus' attitude was to the problems of his time as the Christian's attitude should be to the problems of our time. But this is an algebraic proportion of four terms: $a : b = c : x$; and the unknown quantity we are seeking, namely, the true Christian's attitude today, can only be found if the other three terms are known.

So these three are the first objects of study; — the problems of Jesus' time, the attitude of Jesus to them, the problems of our time. Many who attempt to translate the gospel socially are satisfied to study the last of these three, but the other two factors, involving as they do research in ancient history and in the evangelic records, are at least equally important. To leave mathematics for linguistics and return to our metaphor of translation, they are the grammar and dictionary of the original language from which the translation is to be made. And every translator must know that original tongue. Those very modern preachers, who aim to be up to the minute with all the social theories and panaceas, current statistics and predigested propaganda, but have little thought for the problems of Jesus' day and the way he met them, are like one who in translating the Greek Testament into English, or into Hottentot, relies solely on his mastery of the modern language but bungles with the original.

This is not the place to describe that original language, — which is the study of Jesus' life and teaching. It is a very different idiom from our own; it smacks of the patois of Canaan.

It deals with publicans and sinners instead of Republicans and Democrats. One cannot find in the Sermon on the Mount either percentages of wool tariff or percentage of Americanism. But our interest is in these modern things, — in Boston, not in Bethsaida; in the American "legion," not in its Gadarene namesake. It may be well, therefore, to indicate briefly some of the leading factors in the gospel that seem particularly to need social translation, or that seem likely when so translated to help us deal soundly with the perplexing questions of our day.

First, we need to realize the moral earnestness of Jesus. It is perhaps not superfluous to remind you that Jesus' teaching deals not primarily with theology but with conduct. In contrast to the theologians who are called by his name, and unlike the picture they paint of him in their own image, Jesus' mind dealt not with speculative but with moral questions. Both implicitly and explicitly he stands for moral values. The bulk of his teaching deals with character, and in so far as the earliest gospels involve an attitude toward or estimate of himself, that too is moral.

And this same contrast with much of the religious thought of the church also holds between Jesus and the religious thought of his own day. He taught with authority, and not as the scribes, and this impression, made upon his contemporaries, was due to the same moral earnestness. He was marked by a confidence that was not dogmatism, by a sureness of touch that was born of interest in right conduct and of insight into moral values. His authority was the self-evident truth of his position — and it is this authority as tested by men's natural ability to "judge," as he said, "even of themselves what is right," that has given his moral teaching its extraordinary vitality so that after eighteen centuries it can influence men and win their respect.

This moral earnestness is revealed most strikingly in a negative way by the neutrality of Jesus. Not only is he happily silent on the many petty controversies of our day, but even to the issues of his own time he showed an independent, annoying, and even shocking indifference. To the burning ecclesias-

tical controversy on the legitimacy of Jerusalem or Gerizim as a place of worship, he is represented as giving a non-committal reply, which could be understood as 'both' or 'neither.' Similar appears to be his famous answer about tribute to Caesar. When it is a purely political matter—and therefore to the Zealots the most important issue—Jesus reminds them that their first duty is to God. Again when a matter of legal rights is raised, Jesus refuses to arbitrate—and yet how many people think law and rights are the essential factors of social salvation. No, in all these cases Jesus insists on the higher level and declines to debate or decide on the lower basis. Of course these questions involve moral issues, and much more obviously were the publicans and harlots, and the woman taken in adultery, suitable objects for moral decision. But with an independence of judgment that outraged both moral and social standards, Jesus appreciated the truer moral criterion.

I have spoken of this as the higher level, but from the viewpoint of character we must call it the deeper level. In questions of a man's right living the fundamental springs of character alone can be trusted. Jesus knew enough about whitewashed sepulchres and barren fig-trees to demand that men should give deeds as well as words—justice and mercy as well as tithes of garden vegetables, the second mile as well as the minimum of duty or compulsion. Out of the overflow of the heart the mouth speaketh. A change of heart is the only safe guarantee for the moral life.

Familiar as is to us the thoroughness of Jesus' ideal for a good life, we still scarcely recognize its revolutionary character, partly because it is so rarely illustrated in action and partly because it works in such unobtrusive ways. It explains, for example, a puzzle which I have already touched upon, the question why Jesus makes his approach to the individual rather than to the social system. The revolutionary dynamic in the truly converted man (and conversion is merely the religious euphemism for revolution) can move mountains or pull down the mighty from their seats and exalt those of low degree, and destroy and rebuild in three days the temples that forty and

six years have not completed. Those hard sayings in the Sermon on the Mount are neither oriental hyperboles to be explained away nor rules of casuistry to be literally observed. They are hints of the extraordinary effect on men's conduct when Jesus' revolutionary standards are set up and followed.

In the second place, it is of value for us today to realize that Jesus contributes to our social questions a distinctive method. One always finds it difficult to put his finger on the originality of Jesus. Our historians are only too eager to find that some rabbi or oriental sage or Greek philosopher anticipated Jesus in this point or that. But if there was anything original about his teaching it was in the matter of method rather than of aim. His aim was pure and lofty like that of many another, but his method was more perfectly fitted than theirs to that aim.

How many a worthy reform has failed through reliance on unworthy methods. The Jesuits are not the only ones who have yielded to the plea that the good end justifies the evil means. But Jesus, with a far-sightedness that our impatience finds it difficult to imitate, forged for his ends methods that were in harmony with them, and therefore he succeeded where others failed. The story of his temptation — a temptation to vindicate his divine vocation through material means, or through political means, or through showy advertising, is the graphic presentation of his victory over this subtle danger. He resolutely rejected as of Satan the adoption of evil means for good ends, and though it pointed to the way of the Cross, he felt bound to follow God's thoughts rather than men's.

But nothing more clearly reveals the uniqueness of Jesus' method, in comparison with that of other moral codes, both ancient and modern, than his attitude toward evil. No one will accuse Jesus of indifference toward, or compromise with, sin. His aim was as earnest as that of any reformer. His difference was in his treatment of sin's victims.

This method of Jesus in dealing with evil was, in a word, the overcoming of evil with good. Desiring as he did, not the punishment of wrong, nor the defence of right, as we use these terms, but the making right of him who is wrong, he exhibited a strange contrast with the methods of modern law, industry,

and politics. He was able to draw the line in both his teaching and conduct between rebuke and reviling, between judgment and censure. The present-day methods of dealing with evil Jesus habitually eschews. They are forms of *coercion*, by law, by violence, by external moral authority, by propaganda. Jesus relied on forms of *conversion*, by rebuke, by persuasion, by individual and inward conviction, and by love. Love still is the best expression of Jesus' chief social principle, though perhaps a less hackneyed word is reconciliation. His aim was to reconcile men to God, to each other, and to their lot in life. When two quarreling brothers asked him for justice in the settlement of an estate, he seems to be thinking of their reconciliation to each other by the expulsive power of an affection greater than love of money. There is never more hate between white and black in America, between Frenchman and German in Europe, than existed between Zealot and publican in Judea, but Jesus brought Levi the publican and Simon the Zealot to sit down at the same table. And Jesus won men to each other by first winning them to himself. One by one, slowly but irresistibly, he called men to himself; and they rose up and left all and followed him — the unstable Peter, the impetuous James and John, and many another who has not seen but yet has believed. In spite of their fifty theories of atonement, our theologians have never quite obscured the meaning of the cross as Jesus' great appeal to men. Having loved his own he loved them unto the end. Love was his only method. He had no second string to his bow. And in a sense by being lifted up he draws all men unto him.¹

Herein lies the basis of what was said about the thoroughness and the revolutionary effect of Jesus' teaching. This method, not of changing systems but of changing men, has well been called by the familiar term 'direct action.' Jesus aimed directly at the root of evil, the heart of men. He dealt, therefore, not with symptoms but with diseases. Compared with his method, our tinkering with the machinery of society, our coercion of unwilling masses, are but blundering and ineffective gestures. Without reconciliation between men, the evils of

¹ Compare Micklem, *The Galilean*, Chapters III, IV, V.

society will not be cured by political and economic expedients. The form of evil changes, but the evil nature crops out in another form. Slavery suppressed by force only makes way for the race problem. Militarism destroyed in one country by compulsion sows its seeds in other nations. Autocracy in government is succeeded by bolshevism or reappears in forms of industrial autocracy.

Whether Jesus was aware of the difference or not, he can at least teach our generation, if we listen to him, the real nature of our problems; and perhaps in our complex society we need more than anything else a deeper insight into our problems and an appreciation of the appropriate method for undertaking their solution. "People sometimes speak," says a modern writer,² "as if we could solve our international problems by some balancing of armies and navies, some satisfactory arrangements about tariffs and markets, some delimitation of frontiers. It is sometimes represented to us that we can solve our industrial problems by an adjustment of wages and hours and profits, and that the kingdom of heaven could be established on earth by a wise and eloquent law-giver. As well suggest that an unhappy and divided home can be healed by a more equitable division of the cake and an increased arm-chair service! Jesus enables us to see more deeply into things than that. For all these problems of politics and industry and economics are, in the last resort, problems of personal relationships; and there is no solution of them that is not in terms of personal reconciliation and understanding."

In speaking thus of the principles of Jesus, I have taken it for granted that they have some value today. Such an assumption should need no apology; perhaps it does need a word of explanation. I am not unmindful of the fact that there has been a disposition in the Christian world to give to this assumption — the validity of Jesus' ethics — much verbal assent and much virtual denial. I will not put all the blame for this habit of ignoring Jesus' teaching on the concentration of interest upon theological disputes — a phase that I trust is passing — though the new battle-ground of ethics does not promise any

² Micklem, *The Galilean*, p. 115.

easier conflict or any fewer dangers; yet theological orthodoxy certainly makes it easy for men to call Jesus, 'Lord, Lord' and do not the things that he says. The ethical sayings of Jesus are hard sayings, and still harder is the hardness of men's hearts.

I need not refer to the painful moratorium on Jesus' principles declared by Christian nations and many Christians during the war. Even before the war there was a tendency, and that in high theological circles, to evade Jesus' teaching and to evade it not merely in practice but even in theory. The excuse was the eschatology of Jesus, his expectation of the near end of the present age. And it excused us in two ways: either Jesus' teaching was intended for the millennium, giving counsels of perfection which need not be obeyed because the millennium has not yet come, or else his teaching was intended for the brief period supposed by him still to remain before his second coming, and so was not normal or even final, but merely *Interimsethik*.

Now there is little doubt that Jesus and his early followers did hold an expectation of a cataclysm at a near date, an expectation which subsequent events have not literally fulfilled. But I am not sure — and I think theologians are far less sure than they were in 1913 — that this confession invalidates the teaching of Jesus. Certainly they cannot criticize Jesus' ethics on both grounds at the same time. If it was for the interim only, it was not also for the millennium, and we need to protest against the loose thinking that wants to have it both ways at once. And besides, I am not sure that the expectation of a catastrophe necessarily spoils a man's ethics — whether for this age or for the age to come. This war has at least taught us to be a little more sympathetic with the apocalyptic mind. The theory of progress as a slow-moving development — a kind of escalator forever leading us upward — has been badly jolted. It might have been well if, instead of our modern evolutionary optimism, we had shared a little in the apocalyptic forethought and watchful anxiety of him who asked, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?"

I have said that you cannot reject on two contradictory grounds the teaching of Jesus. But you can accept it on two

contradictory grounds, and in a sense both statements made about Jesus' teaching are true; it was meant to be the standard for the future kingdom of God, but (and here is the point which more careful study of the eschatological problem is bringing out) he also intended his followers to live by those principles here and now. He had no illusion about the environment in which they would live. He did not expect the disciples to find life easier in this stubborn world than their master had found it, but he expected them, without waiting for its fuller realization, to be the kind of people of whom the kingdom of God consists. Other people may have other standards, but the Christian is to live as though for him the kingdom of God had come. That is the way Jesus lived, and that is perhaps the sense in which, notwithstanding his usual reference to it as future, he sometimes spoke of the kingdom as already here. It will never be realized in all men until it is realized in some men. To those who lived by its standards it could be said prophetically: The kingdom of God is within you. Its principles are equally valid at all times for those who, like Jesus, look at life *sub specie aeternitatis*. Ethically at least, wherever the battle between good and evil is joined, the kingdom of God has already "come before its time."

Such a standard of conduct will not escape the charge from so-called "practical" men of being utopian, but once more the war has sobered us a little in our criticisms of Jesus as an unpractical idealist. I am not impressed with the good results of the war, but undoubtedly one of its results is an enhanced appreciation of ideals as compared with grape-shot. Life guided by the standards of a better future seems, in the light of large-scale experiments in the reverse, more likely to bring that future than is an accommodation of Christian ethics to the standards of *Weltmacht*. In unexpected quarters men are urging that the principles of Jesus be practised now without waiting for the millennium. Perhaps no startling increase has been made to the number of those, who from the sheer attractiveness of Jesus' program, accept with insight and courage the challenge of the late Professor Rauschenbusch, Dare we be Christians? There are, however, many who out of mere fear for the material

and spiritual benefits of civilization grudgingly admit that we dare not be anything else. And, whatever the motive, we cannot regret that for divers reasons the good news of the kingdom is widely preached.

I have returned now to the thought with which I began — the demand for an application of Jesus' principles to the social problems of today. I have spoken of the moral earnestness of Jesus, his neutrality to controversial issues when an attempt was made to put them on a lower plane, his method of thoroughness and individual approach. I have emphasized the moral harmony between means and end, which in his life and teaching made the method as significant as the aim itself. I should like to have spoken of other features in his career, especially his position as a member of the minority and his martyrdom, and the social translation of these qualities in our age, when it is hard for respectable Christians to be effective minorities and martyrs. But I have said enough to indicate why the task of translating the gospel socially is one that is worthy of exceptional mental powers, exceptional moral earnestness, exceptional fidelity and honesty. Translation in the case of books in foreign languages too often means expurgation, paraphrase, — the watering down of the original to the effete or prudish tastes of our day. The social translation of the gospel must be accurate and unadulterated, true to the spirit of Jesus, and never shrinking to declare the whole counsel of God.

What that translation must be, how literally the original idiom can be reproduced, I have not attempted to declare. I have tried only to emphasize the importance of knowing that original thoroughly and to suggest a few characteristic elements of that idiom which must not be overlooked by any translator. The actual translation is the further task of trained students and teachers, "workmen that need not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth." As title to such a translation, over such a transmuting of the gospel of Jesus into a life of saintliness and perfect social adjustment, the devout Christian may write as a motto the quaint words from the title-page of our English Bible: "Translated out of the original tongues and with the former translations diligently compared and revised."

KING JOHN AND THE NORMAN CHURCH

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No one has ever really doubted the oft-asserted theory that no part of the middle ages can be studied apart from the Christian Church. All-embracing in its influence from the fall of Rome to the Reformation, it is generally conceded to have reached its zenith during the pontificate of Innocent III, not only because of the perfection of its organization at that time but also by reason of its readiness under his leadership to take issue with any or all of the secular powers of Europe over a variety of questions which, in only too many instances, had little obvious connection with the Christian faith. Its ambitions were large but, by methods which were sometimes unscrupulous, they were almost always realized.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, northwestern Europe was still deeply engrossed in the century-old struggle between France and England for the control of the English lands in France. Under John Lackland, king of England and duke in Normandy, the principal bone of contention between these two great secular powers was Normandy. It was also a potential battleground for the forces of church and state. On the one hand, John had behind him nearly three hundred years of unbroken precedent for the maintenance of his prerogative rights against the claims of the Norman clergy; on the other, Innocent III and his representatives had with them the present power and the future destiny of the church, in addition to the experience gained in many a successful contest of a similar nature in other parts of Europe.¹

Necessarily the two conflicts had many points of contact.² The support of the clergy would have been a material aid in the struggle against Philip Augustus; an undisputed title in his Norman duchy would have put John beyond the reach of his clerical enemies. Indeed it seems clear that by a proper grouping of the various forces which were from time to time

under his control, John might have been victorious against both the French king and the Roman pontiff.³ Neither John nor Philip Augustus, however, fully appreciated the extent of the papal power. The latter was willing to suffer the interdict throughout France rather than arrange his domestic affairs in accordance with the most common rules of morality;⁴ the former continued to exploit financially the clergy, whom he robbed and assaulted with direct violence whenever the occasion presented itself.⁵ Philip Augustus, first to feel the weight of papal censure, was the first to bring himself to formal submission, and, from one point of view, Aquitaine, Maine, Anjou, and Toulouse, as well as Normandy, constituted his reward.⁶ John, on the other hand, having lost in his struggle with Philip, inevitably lost in his struggle with Innocent as well, and in the end held his kingdom as a papal fief, and his crown as a concession from his barons.

Normandy, during the period in which John was its ruler, was the center of both conflicts;⁷ and in both the part played by the clergy was of the utmost importance. They had much to lose in a long-continued military campaign,⁸ but their possessions in England exposed them to reprisals on a large scale on the part of their English overlord. In any case there would be no permanent change of masters in Normandy until they were firmly convinced that such a change would be for their benefit; once that idea was in their minds, there could be no alternative. The growth of that conviction can not be ascribed to any one man or to any one event, but was rather a natural concomitant of the situation in which the Norman Church found itself. It was an institution of a peculiar character, rich and powerful, yet subjected to a very real control by its secular lord, a man who proved himself to be at once faithless, tactless, and exceedingly able.⁹ On the other hand, it was supported in its every assertion of independence by the most powerful pope of the middle ages. Under such circumstances, a survey of the distinctive characteristics of the Norman Church together with an examination of the abilities and careers of some of its more distinguished leaders can not fail to have points of interest not only for the history of the several

political units involved but also for the general problem of church and state.

The Norman clergy, from the time of the council of Lillebonne in the last quarter of the eleventh century, had accustomed themselves to a degree of ducal control not realized elsewhere in Europe in the same period. Because of the fact that the protection of all religious houses and establishments was an exclusive possession of the duke, they had avoided the close dependence upon the feudal lord in the rôle of *avoué* or *vidame* which characterized their colleagues in the rest of Europe, only to bring themselves even more completely under the supervision of their overlord.¹⁰ They could maintain their relations with the pope, whether by means of his legates or by attendance at his councils, only at the ducal discretion. The tradition that the Conqueror had threatened to hang to the highest tree any monk who dared obey a papal legate was still alive after a century and a half.¹¹ Papal legates could not travel through the duchy without ducal permission, much less could they exercise their legatine functions within its borders.¹² On occasion the Norman clergy might be allowed to attend great councils at Rheims and elsewhere, but even then only with the ducal consent, accompanied, it might be, by ducal advice and instructions.¹³

The most important restriction upon the church, however, concerned appointments to ecclesiastical offices. The right of free election existed in name only.¹⁴ In theory the duke proposed, the chapter or monastery elected, and the bishop consecrated; in practice, the clergy ascertained the will of the prince and carried it out.¹⁵ If the theory was allowed to conflict with the practice, a disputed election was the result, and was no infrequent occurrence.¹⁶ In no case, however, did the duke admit the principle involved. Even Henry II, fresh from the spectacular humiliation of Avranches,¹⁷ caused his nominee to be placed upon the archiepiscopal throne.¹⁸ An inquest of the time of Philip Augustus states that the men of that day did not know whether he had acted by right or not, but no one had forgotten the event.¹⁹ Furthermore, the duke claimed the revenues of vacant sees, confiscated the personal property of the

last incumbent, sometimes before breath had left the body, and yielded the regalia to the bishop-elect at his own convenience.²⁰

Taken as a whole, it is hard to see how the Norman Church could have been more completely in the hands of the Norman duke.²¹ In the matter of clerical elections the restrictions were particularly burdensome, although it seems that the duke might well have been considered to have a legitimate interest in them. Here the Norman practice was in direct variance with the theory and even with the fundamental needs of the church. It was to be expected that some one would be found to take up in Normandy the struggle which Gregory VII did not find the opportunity to extend into the Anglo-norman state.

That no outbreak had occurred earlier for the purpose of making the condition of the Norman Church approximate that of the rest of the continent argues well, on the whole, for the wisdom and moderation of her dukes, or, at least, for their ability. Church and state seem to have worked together during a large part of the history of the duchy, and with surprisingly little friction. The two had coöperated in the enforcement of the Truce of God;²² they had settled peacefully, if not with entire mutual satisfaction, the perplexing problem of conflicting jurisdictions, both of person and of subject. The early dukes had called church councils and had enforced their decrees.²³ Even when excessive delay in the clerical courts made ducal interference imperative, care had been taken to protect the financial interests of the clerical officers.²⁴

On the other hand, the Norman Church was a highly privileged institution, however much it might be subjected to ducal control at specific points. Her prelates had always taken a considerable part in the secular affairs of the duchy; their learning, in an illiterate age, made them indispensable for both clerical and legal matters.²⁵ They were in a large measure exempt from military obligations, but not from the feudal payments and military service due from their holdings.²⁶ Church land was held by a special tenure, which was exceedingly advantageous.²⁷ Furthermore, the eight generations which followed the Conqueror had indulged in an ever-increasing stream of benevolent bequests and gifts, each baron striving

with the rest to build for himself and his house an abbey or a church of imposing proportions. With these material gifts came exemptions, valuable financial concessions, special privileges of every kind.²⁸ Crusaders pledged their lands to monastic houses for a modest sum with which to defray the expenses of the voyage and never returned to redeem their possessions, as nearly all of the cartularies of the period will testify. Even the dukes were generous benefactors as well as powerful protectors.

The church, however, was gaining a constitution, as were the contemporaneous monarchical states; the Norman clergy found in the character and activities of John only a convenient occasion for the inevitable struggle. Political causes made the Norman phase of the conflict brief, but it was a phase of great importance not only for the loss of Normandy and for the French monarchy which benefited thereby, but also for England. England saw little else in the decade which followed the loss of the duchy, and the struggle of 1215 was closely connected with it.

Neither Richard nor John, the last of the Anglo-Norman dukes, had any intention of giving up aught of the control which their predecessors had exercised over the Norman clergy, nor did they mean to yield an inch to papal claims which they considered to be incompatible with their honor and with what they were pleased to call the custom of the land.

Richard, although his conduct was far from ideal,²⁹ showed himself more kindly toward the church than did his brother. The most liberal statement of church privileges in Normandy dates from the early years of his reign.³⁰ His gifts,³¹ both in life and in death,³² his crusade, perhaps more than all else his frequent participation in the services of the church,³³ bear witness that he treated it as something more than a mere source of revenue and a quarrelsome neighbor. Still, he treated the clergy upon conquered lands with violence.³⁴ He was not afraid to treat the bishop of Beauvais as a warrior when that prelate abandoned his episcopal character for martial deeds.³⁵ He taxed his own clergy in defiance of established custom.³⁶ When the question of the Norman defence was at stake he

would brook interference from no one. Château Gaillard was built on the land of the church and in the face of clerical opposition.³⁷

John was a different type of man, and he pursued a different policy. At times generous enough,³⁸ he usually looked upon the clergy as a part of the royal demesne, capable of almost unlimited exploitation upon need. He enriched himself from the revenues of vacant sees, and abused his rights of hospitality in the monastic houses.³⁹ Frankly contemptuous of the most sacred of religious rites, he set the key-note of his reign by scoffing at the ceremonies of his investiture; he habitually absented himself from mass.⁴⁰ Innocent III, his patience exhausted by insult heaped upon injury, wrote him a letter fairly bristling with indignation; its contents warrant the belief that John had gone out of his way to humiliate and disgrace his clergy.⁴¹

The question of free elections, as always, was the crucial point. Again and again John insisted upon what he deemed his prerogative, not hesitating to support with violence and a squad of cutthroats demands which he could obtain in no other way. If the conflict had been confined to Normandy, he would undoubtedly have overcome all opposition, for even Walter of Coutances never dared meet his monarch on this point, whether because of a guilty conscience, fear of expulsion from his chair, or other reasons, we know not. The church's contention, however, was a broad one, dear to her heart and fundamental to her very existence. Innocent III was its eager champion.

The essential viciousness of John, the stubborn resistance of the local clergy, the reliance of the provincial church upon the strong arm of the pope, all were clearly revealed time and again in the struggle, but they were displayed most forcibly in the disputed election of Séez of 1202-03, an event which was at once closely connected with the loss of Normandy and a vivid illustration of the spirit of the Norman clergy which made that event possible. A simple narrative will throw the underlying principles into clear relief.⁴²

Bishop Lisiard of Séez died in September in the year 1201, and the canons of the cathedral, before notifying the arch-

bishop of Rouen or the duke of his death, agreed among themselves, at a meeting of the chapter called by their prior, to elect as his successor one of their own number. The last two incumbents had alienated a large portion of the wealth of the church of Séez, and the canons thought that some one who had suffered because of the resulting poverty of the chapter would be more apt to bend his efforts toward the conservation of their remaining property than any other person whom they might elect.⁴³ They not only took solemn oath to carry out this decision but swore also to excommunicate any or all who should fail to do so.

These preliminary matters having been settled, the prior and two companions set out for Rouen to notify the archbishop and the duke of the vacancy in the see of Séez. They undoubtedly requested at the same time the usual permission to proceed to an election, but without success. Their return to Séez was followed almost immediately by the arrival of messengers from John with instructions for the chapter to elect the dean of Lisieux as their bishop.⁴⁴ Now the dean of Lisieux was a member of a family which the canons of Séez had reason to consider as their enemy;⁴⁵ the determination to elect their own candidate became even more fixed.

The royal messengers proposed as an alternative that the chapter should nominate six men, three of them to be outside the ranks of the clergy of Séez, the duke to choose one from the group for subsequent election. The chapter met and deliberated upon the proposition, but the five nominees upon whom they fixed were all members of the clergy of Séez and included the prior and Sylvester the archdeacon. In obedience to ducal summons, but with little enthusiasm, the prior and seven of the canons, armed with the full power of the chapter, went to Argentan to meet their sovereign.⁴⁶ The interview, as might have been expected, amounted to nothing. The delegates of the chapter insisted that the bishop-elect should be one of their number; John held out for his first choice, the dean of Lisieux.

It was evident by this time that there was destined to be a trial of strength between duke and chapter. For such a struggle

plenty of precedents were at hand in Norman history, and the annals of this diocese itself could supply several examples.⁴⁷ Five days after the return from Argentan ducal officials arrived with the obvious purpose of forcing the canons by violence to do the royal will. The prior instantly appealed to Rome. John answered by confiscating the cathedral treasure. He quartered his soldiers in the dormitories of the canons, evicted the families and servants of the canons from their dwellings in the vicinity of the chapter house, and took measures whereby the canons themselves could be starved into submission. The prior responded with all the devices at his disposal. He threw the entire diocese under the interdict, left a few canons to guard the cathedral itself, and led the rest, preceded by the cross, to a safe refuge in a neighboring monastery.

Such action was, of course, an insuperable obstacle to John's plans. He therefore instructed the archbishop to cause the canons to return in peace to their cathedral, and said that he had no further interest in the whole matter. The prior met him halfway by raising the interdict which he had placed upon the diocese.

In the early part of 1202, Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, took a hand in the matter by calling the Séez chapter to Rouen. He offered his advice for the settlement of their difficulties, but was forced to admit that he was unable to absolve them from their own oath. The prior and the larger part of the chapter actually elected R. du Mesle as bishop, but the archbishop either could not or would not confirm the election. The only alternative was an appeal to Rome, and the prior, accompanied by the elect and a few comrades, set out upon the long journey in order that they might plead their case in person before Innocent III.

Before they were beyond the boundaries of France they were overtaken by royal messengers with a new proposal. This time the duke wished them to elect Herbert, son of Ralph Labbé, a man well known to them and to all Normandy because of the high position and the oppressive actions of his father. They paid but scant attention to this final request of their duke and proceeded on their journey. As they were crossing the Alps,

however, the bishop-elect died, whereupon the prior and his companions held an election on the spot, naming this time the archdeacon Sylvester.

Meanwhile John was asserting his rights over the temporalities of the diocese.⁴⁸ In late February he caused the remaining canons to elect as their bishop Herbert, the son of Ralph Labbé.⁴⁹ No attempt was made to obtain archiepiscopal confirmation of the election, but Herbert and his party sent a rival deputation to Rome. At the same time, by threat of reprisals upon Italian merchants at the channel ports, John made it as difficult as possible for the prior and his companions to travel toward their goal.⁵⁰

In June, after some deliberation and a careful examination of the evidence presented, Innocent III decided in favor of the claims of Sylvester and confirmed his election. His opponents within the diocese, even including the rival bishop-elect, accepted this decision and apparently considered the incident closed, but John was in no mood to accept a papal decision, even in a matter which was so clearly within the papal jurisdiction. In August of the same year he still pretended to be ignorant of the pope's confirmation, and was at that time still attempting by threats the intimidation of the remnants of the Seéz clergy.⁵¹ He made a direct accusation of immorality against Sylvester, and forbade his prelates to consecrate as bishop a man so surely destined in his eyes to disgrace the entire church.⁵²

A letter from Innocent in the early part of 1203 brought him partially to his senses by recounting his offences against the church and informing him of the penalty which would be visited upon further delay in regard to the bishop of Seéz. Even then, however, John would not allow Sylvester to enter his diocese, although he did put a stop to any further persecution of its clergy. Innocent replied with a threat of the interdict over the whole of Normandy if within the space of one month Sylvester were not given his full rights. This did not produce immediate results, but in August Sylvester received a safe-conduct for a conference with the archbishop.⁵³ In October, with bad grace and admitting nothing, John at last

directed his seneschal that Sylvester should be admitted to the see in which he had long since been confirmed by the pope.⁵⁴ A more cogent reason, however, for abandoning the Séez affair than the threats of Innocent III was the outbreak of war with Philip Augustus. Indeed it is not at all sure that Sylvester actually succeeded in taking over the rights and duties of his office until the catastrophe of 1203-04 had made the duchy French.⁵⁵ At any rate, John gave the necessary orders; whether or not they were executed in the troublous days between October 1203 and the spring of 1204 is problematical.⁵⁶

The whole incident shows clearly the firm determination of John to submit to no interference in what he deemed his prerogative rights in regard to clerical elections. Here he was following the precedents of his ancestors.⁵⁷ It also shows the lengths to which he was willing to go in order to carry out his ideas. More important, it shows the character of the opposition that he was sure to meet. The Norman clergy not only had a lofty conception of their rights and privileges, but were ready to take up the fight in their own defence even if the archbishop was not. Experience had taught them that they could at least depend upon the constant support of the pope; they were as ready as he to use the final arguments of the church, interdict and excommunication, against the persecution of the secular authority. In 1104-05 the Norman clergy was of considerable aid in making the duchy English;⁵⁸ they saw no reason to exert themselves a century later to prevent it from becoming French.

A separate discussion might well be devoted to the theory and practice of the papacy, as exemplified by Innocent III and his relations with John and the Norman clergy. Tireless in his energy, no detail of church organization seems to have been small enough to escape his attention, while on the other hand he was engrossed in secular affairs with a thoroughness which would have required the exclusive attention of a man of lesser ability. It is a commonplace of historical knowledge that Innocent III had world-wide interests and that his voice was listened to with obedience in all parts of Christendom, but only the study of a collection of his correspondence can convey any

adequate idea of the extent of his activities and the minute detail of which his chancery was capable.⁵⁹

In the first place, he took an active part in the management of the province of Rouen, now directing the archbishop to extend his powers, now urging him to stand firm against his opponents. Sometimes it was the relation of bishop and chapter toward which he directed his attention;⁶⁰ again, it was the relative power of bishop and archbishop;⁶¹ at another time, it was the question of the general customs and efficiency of the church.⁶² Whatever the occasion, he always supported the clerical claims and power in the highest forms of their expression,⁶³ striving at the same time to maintain the episcopal system on which his own influence depended,⁶⁴ and to keep a watchful eye on the daily life and routine of the clergy.

In the second place, he endeavored to keep France and England at peace as long as possible, bending all available energy toward the restoration of peace the moment war actually broke out. In this connection he used the full power of the church, both for the purpose of making his own wishes known and in order to obtain a respectful hearing for his legates.⁶⁵ In attempting to settle the disputes of Philip and John and to prevent impending war between them, he made a sharp distinction between feudal law and a higher code of right and wrong, of which he considered himself the supreme administrator.⁶⁶ He nearly succeeded in establishing the papacy as an international tribunal by which the natural laws of justice might be administered for the growing states of Europe. With a few striking successes in the art of peace-making, Innocent III could have clothed his large concept of his office with a compelling reality which able successors to the papal throne could have made permanent. As it was, the experience of England showed the possibilities of papal interference in national affairs in the decade following the loss of Normandy. In connection with Anglo-French rivalry in Normandy, however, it can not be said that his efforts were followed by great results. War was in the air and neither of the secular princes concerned had any illusions as to the necessity of obeying the dictates of

Rome in such matters. Still the influence of Innocent was not negligible, and it was solidly for peace.

Finally, he was keenly interested in the prevention of secular oppression of ecclesiastical foundations and in the restoration to the church of the right of free election to ecclesiastical offices.⁶⁷

The relations between Innocent III and John were, on the whole, cordial,⁶⁸ whether because he loved John more or Philip Augustus less is not quite clear. He undoubtedly preferred to see John retain the possession of his hereditary lands on the continent. On at least one occasion he protected John's tenure by visiting ecclesiastical penalties upon all rebels.⁶⁹ In 1203, however, when the question became critical, the need of enlisting John's aid against the recalcitrant Philip was for the time being removed.⁷⁰ Furthermore, John's actions in the years immediately preceding had given too many indications of the sort of treatment at his hands which the church must continue to expect. By this time Innocent's letters to John had changed their tone. In the beginning they had been entirely friendly; later they became the admonitions of a father to a wayward son; by 1202-03, they were, as has been shown in the Sézéz dispute, direct demands accompanied by threats.

When the crisis actually came, the mind of Innocent was apparently still open. He was content that the Norman clergy should let forces already in action take their normal course. The matter of secular allegiance may have seemed small to a man whose rule knew neither political nor geographical boundaries; ⁷¹ possibly he saw in the French solution of the Norman question the only avenue to peace.⁷² He wrote to the Norman clergy in answer to their request for advice as to the situation which confronted them, but the letter was wholly lacking in the decisiveness which habitually characterized his correspondence.⁷³ He professed inability to advise them concerning their allegiance, and left their future action to their own initiative. Perhaps he thought he could go no farther, in view of his recent support of John; at any rate he laid the burden of the decision upon the persons who alone could make it intelligently, men who were at the same time in such a position that he could not

effectively combat their judgment. No more striking indication of John's loss of prestige in the eyes of his clergy could be given than is contained in what appears to have been a complete and immediate change of loyalty on the part of a body of men who should have formed the most conservative element in the duchy. It is of additional significance that this action was carried out without the leadership upon which these same men were accustomed to rely.

A man whose connection with the Norman clergy and their royal master was even more intimate is to be found in Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen.⁷⁴ Certainly the most able Norman prelate of the Plantagenet period, he had to be reckoned with in both church and state during the generation or more in which he occupied the archiepiscopal chair. English in origin,⁷⁵ he rose rapidly in the favor of the English kings and in the ranks of the clergy. Canon at Rouen, a clerk for both Henrys, chaplain and archdeacon in England, treasurer at Rouen, bishop of Lincoln, archbishop of Rouen, he was also upon occasion an envoy of his sovereign,⁷⁶ a crusader, a confounder of heresy,⁷⁷ and for three years chief justiciar⁷⁸ and acting chancellor of England. Furthermore, he was a scholar and a man of letters of more than ordinary distinction.⁷⁹

If he resembled Thomas Becket in his relations with the English king and in the zeal he displayed in the administration of his province,⁸⁰ he differed notably from that unfortunate prelate in his moderation at critical moments and in the success which seems always to have crowned his efforts. He allowed Richard to address him with a tone of authority that Becket would not have tolerated,⁸¹ yet he resisted the encroachments of both Philip Augustus and Richard, powerful kings as they were, with all the resources at his command.⁸² The circumstances in which he found himself may offer a partial explanation. On the one hand, Innocent III was always at his elbow with advice and encouragement.⁸³ Every assertion of his ecclesiastical power, every protest against secular aggression brought a confirmatory, if not an immediate, response from the pope.⁸⁴ On the other hand, inasmuch as Philip Augustus and Richard were continuously either at war or on the point of war, there

was always an opportunity for the exercise of skillful statesmanship, in the course of which the church might gain something. He did not hesitate to seek safety in flight when the forces of the opposition united, but he generally succeeded in exacting indemnities from both parties at a later date.

As primate of Normandy⁸⁵ he exacted unquestioning obedience from his suffragans,⁸⁶ held his canons to a strict accounting,⁸⁷ and dealt effectively with the unruly burgesses of his cathedral city.⁸⁸ He allowed ducal supervision of his court when it held pleas of the sword, and apparently without protest,⁸⁹ but he secured from the duke in 1190 the most liberal statement of the privileges of the church to be found in this period.⁹⁰ With the pope his relations were not always pleasant, but their only real difference was over the question of the transfer of a certain bishop-elect from one diocese to another, a question upon which the church law had never been determined.⁹¹ In this episode he shared both the guilt and the punishment with the archbishop of Tours.

The relations between archbishop and duke were, on the whole, friendly.⁹² He supported Richard against the intrigues of his brother, and was an active agent in the collection of Richard's ransom during the German captivity of that prince. His will reveals the fact that he himself contributed heavily to the necessary funds.⁹³ He excommunicated the enemies of John after the latter's accession,⁹⁴ though he assumed a neutral position in the final struggle.

On two occasions, however, he stoutly resisted what he deemed to be unlawful abridgment of his ecclesiastical functions. When he returned from Germany in 1195 he found that the document containing the terms of a peace just concluded between Richard and Philip Augustus awaited his seal.⁹⁵ On examining its contents, he found a clause which would subject his further use of the interdict to the approval of a commission of four priests or deacons appointed for that purpose.⁹⁶ It was an ingenious scheme, and similar to one which Walter himself approved in connection with the episcopal control of cathedral chapters,⁹⁷ but it fell through. Walter would have nothing to do with the treaty, excommunicated all who had

any part in it, and retired to voluntary exile at Cambrai, with which church the church at Rouen had an agreement with a mutual provision for hospitality in such cases.⁹⁸ Both monarchs eventually gave up the scheme to which he objected, called him back virtually on his own terms, and granted him, with what grace they could muster, the indemnities which he demanded.⁹⁹

The other important occasion upon which Walter came into unpleasant relations with his ducal master concerned the erection of Château Gaillard.¹⁰⁰ The rock of Le Grand Andeli was situated upon an archiepiscopal manor. Because of its fortification by Richard, Walter threw all of Normandy under the interdict and appealed to Rome. He even went to Rome in person to plead his case.¹⁰¹ The pope, however, Celestine III, grasped more clearly than Walter the elements of the dispute. He held that Richard was justified in erecting necessary fortifications within the boundaries of his realm and advised Walter to settle the matter by arbitration.¹⁰² The pope removed the interdict and Walter proceeded to the most favorable bargain possible with Richard. He exchanged the rock of Le Grand Andeli for other lands which were distinctly more valuable, gaining nearly five hundred livres of revenue by the transaction.¹⁰³ Later, under John, the whole affair was reopened. John eventually confirmed the original grant and included the settlement of various minor differences between himself and Walter.¹⁰⁴ In both documents Walter gained more than he lost; in the latter case he was himself immensely pleased with the result.¹⁰⁵

The force of his defeat in the affair of Château Gaillard was considerably broken by an episode connected with it. The Norman clergy had supported Richard from the beginning, and Walter, upon his return from Rome, reckoned with them separately. They gave back their mitres and did penance for having refused to enforce the interdict which Walter had proclaimed. In the end he restored them to their sees in the midst of much pomp and ceremony and forgave their offence.¹⁰⁶

The activities of Walter of Coutances were everywhere accompanied by a liberal use of ecclesiastical penalties, especially

the interdict and excommunication. In this matter he can hardly be said to have exceeded his authority or to have differed from his colleagues in other parts of Europe, but the statistics are nevertheless impressive.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, the enforcement of the interdict tended always to be spasmodic and far from thorough. Even for the clergy its terms had to be somewhat relaxed; they celebrated mass in their empty churches, behind closed doors, with hushed voices, and with stilled bells.¹⁰⁸ This weapon was the most powerful in the papal arsenal; to use it frequently was almost inevitably to abuse it.¹⁰⁹ The history of England from 1204 to 1215 affords ample proof that it still retained force, but the loss of Normandy marks the formation of national states, and against the national state, even in its comparatively undeveloped thirteenth-century form, the interdict was destined to prove ineffective. The excessive use of this weapon by Walter of Coutances does not indicate lack of wisdom or squandering of the resources of the church;¹¹⁰ it does reveal the relationship then fast springing up between the church and the national states into which its territory was being divided.

In the great crisis of Norman history Walter does not seem to have been vitally interested or much disturbed.¹¹¹ A true mediaeval churchman, statesman, and scholar, a skilled administrator and a clever politician, despite the fact that his life had been the chief source of whatever unity the duchy possessed in the last two decades of English rule,¹¹² he took no active part in the event which must have appeared, even to him, a turning point in the fortunes of the land in which he lived. Having avoided nearly all connection with the Sééz dispute, he may have thought it unnecessary to take issue with John in the events which accompanied it. The pope and the Norman clergy were sufficiently aroused, and he may well have preferred the rôle of the neutral observer. On the other hand, he can not have been insensible to the issues at stake, and at bottom his sympathies were sure to be solidly with his clergy. He offered no opposition to the change. In any event the transfer of allegiance from one king to another can have assumed little importance in the eyes of a man who had defied each in turn, who already owed allegiance to both by the law

of the land, and by the custom of the church little real service to either.¹¹³

There is no evidence that the clergy of Normandy looked to Philip Augustus as a protector, but they could hardly fail to see that his professed attitude toward the church was infinitely superior to that taken by John. The actual treatment of the clergy by Philip in the conquered portions of Normandy may well have set them thinking.¹¹⁴ Normandy could have been saved only by a struggle, and the clergy saw no reason to exert influence in that direction. Even Innocent III saw that he could no longer guard John's continental dominions for him. His letter to the Norman clergy in connection with the loss of Normandy was devised to acknowledge a *fait accompli* without appearing to change front.¹¹⁵ He postulates in it a state of mind in the Norman clergy which was, if not favorable to Philip Augustus, at least highly antagonistic to John. One can assert with confidence that the Norman Church was an important factor in the complex situation which made the loss of Normandy inevitable; at the very least, the Norman Church willingly permitted that event to take place.

NOTES

1. The principal sources for the history of the Norman Church under Richard and John are to be found among the following: Appropriate volumes of the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet, new edition by L. Delisle, Paris, 1869-1904 (cited as *H. F.*); *Gallia Christiana*, ed. P. Piolin, xi (Rouen), Paris, 1874; *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, xxii, Venice, 1778; C.-J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, ed. H. Leclercq, Paris, 1915, v, 2; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. R. Jaffé, Berlin, 1851, also A. Potthast, Berlin, 1873, i; *Concilia Rotomagensis Provinciae*, ed. Bessin, Rouen, 1717; *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, ed. J.-P. Migne, ccxiv-ccxvii (Letters of Innocent III); *Le cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste*, etc., ed. L. Delisle, in *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, xvi, Paris, 1852; English chancery rolls, patent rolls, charter rolls, etc., see C. Gross, *The Sources and Literature of English History*, London, 1915; *Calendar of documents preserved in France illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. J. H. Round, i, *Rolls series*, London, 1899; *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiquae*, ed. A. Duchesne, Paris, 1619; *Antiquus Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis*, ed. V. Bourrienne, Paris, 1902-03 (cited as *Livre Noir*); and elsewhere, notably in the unpublished cartularies of Normandy, see H. Stein, *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français*, Paris, 1907, for descriptions and repositories.

The Norman Church in the years immediately preceding 1204 has never been adequately studied. Incidental and scattered material may be found in F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy*, Manchester, 1913; Professor Haskins has dealt thoroughly with the Norman Church in the time of Henry II in his *Norman Institutions*, Cambridge, 1918, and has constructed a guide to the archive materials for the history of ducal Normandy (Appendix A) which is indispensable for all subsequent investigation. The *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Paris, 1733-1914, abounds in biographical material. One may also consult especially the following: A. Luchaire, *Innocent III, les royautes vassales du Saint-Siège*, Paris, 1908; H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, Leipzig, 1899; E. B. Krehbiel, *The Interdict*, Washington, 1909; K. Norgate, *John Lackland*, London, 1902; F. M. Powicke, "Archbishop of Rouen and Philip Augustus," *English Historical Review*, xxvii.

The relations of church and state in Normandy which arose from the special problem of the administration of justice have been separately studied in connection with the judicial institutions of the duchy on the eve of the French conquest, and are not dealt with in the present paper.

2. Powicke, 266, for the problem of ducal and archiepiscopal boundaries which did not coincide. The complications in time of hostilities, either secular or ecclesiastical, may be imagined.

3. This would have involved friendly relations with Innocent III, at whatever cost, and the rallying of the Norman baronage and church to the fight against the Frenchman by concessions and by popular leaders. It would have been a costly procedure for John, but both barons and clergy took as much or more by force a little later. The financial and military problems could not have been solved by this method, but their logical consequences could have been delayed.

4. A. Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August*, iii, Paris, 1910, pp. 57 ff.; R. Davidsohn, *Philipp II. August von Frankreich und Ingeborg*, Stuttgart, 1888.

5. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, *Rolls series*, 1874, ii, 484; *infra*, pp. 38 ff.

6. Philip Augustus could hardly have held these lands in the face of a concerted opposition on the part of both clergy and pope.

7. England did not become involved in the struggle with the pope until the disputed election at Canterbury in 1205, after the loss of the duchy.

8. Powicke, 169, for the sufferings of the church due to the Anglo-French wars in Normandy; also Round, No. 67; *Ymagines historiarum*, Ralph de Diceto, *Rolls series*, London, 1876, ii, 144, for effect of the wars upon Rouen. L. Delisle, *Étude sur l'agriculture et la classe agricole en Normandie*, Évreux, 1861, p. 631, asserts that war had been continuous in Normandy since the time of Stephen, the reigns of Richard and John being by far the worst; R. Genestal, *Rôle des monastères comme établissements de crédit; étudié en Normandie*, Paris, 1901, p. 196, for the sufferings of the abbeys as seen in their activities as credit agents.

9. John's interest in the business of government and his skill as an administrator are everywhere patent in the chronicles and chancery enrollments, yet both contemporaries and modern scholars have differed radically in their judgement of his ability as a ruler. Matthew Paris, ii, 478-479, *H. F.*, xvii, 260 ff., *H. F.*, xxiv, 761-762, and *Chronicon Anglicanum*, Ralph de Coggeshall, *Rolls series*, London, 1875, pp. 37-38, should be compared with Matthew Paris, ii, 481-482, 489, and Gervase of Canterbury, ii, 96, *Rolls series*. W. Stubbs, *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series*, ed. A. Hassall, London, 1902, p. 251, for the classical denunciation of John; cf. J. R. Green, *History of the English People*, i, London, 1881, p. 230, for the opposing view. All will agree that he was essentially a poor leader.

10. Haskins, 189, 36 and note; cf. F. Senn, *L'institution des avoueries ecclésiastiques en France*, Paris, 1903, pp. 98-99; also F. Senn, *L'institution des vidamies en France*, Paris, 1907, pp. 96-99; A. Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises, période des Capétiens directs*, Paris, 1892, p. 505. *Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen*, Ms. 1227, Cartulary of St. George of Boscher-ville, f. 82, gives a description of an impressive ceremony at the abbey on the occasion of the knighting of young William of the house of Tancarville. One suspects that the young knight may have considered himself as the especial protector of the family altar and the monastery which contained it.

11. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, Ordericus Vitalis, ed. A. Le Prévost, Paris, 1835-55, ii, 84.

12. Haskins, 154; Stubbs, *Introductions*, 251, Normandy was placed under the interdict in 1191 because the steward of the archbishop, his master being in England, would not admit papal legates without the royal consent.

13. Ordericus Vitalis, iv, 373. Henry I instructed the Norman clergy who were about to attend a council at Rheims not to bring any innovations into his lands.

14. Luchaire, *Manuel*, 274. Mansi, xxii, col. 591, for the clerical view of the right of free election; *Rotuli de Liberate*, ed. T. D. Hardy, London, 1844, p. 72, for the ducal view. Cf. P. Viollet, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France*, Paris, 1890-1903, ii, 340-341.

15. Ordericus Vitalis, iv, 433-438, for a typical election of an abbot "with the consent" of the duke; J. F. Pommeraye, *Histoire des archevêques de Rouen*, Rouen, 1667, p. 375, for an election of 1183 "by order of the king"; *Rotuli Normanniae*, ed. T. D. Hardy, London, 1835, pp. 23-24, for direct orders in chancery for minor elections.

16. Haskins, 153; Luchaire, *Les royautés vassales*, 182 ff.; *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 483; Migne, ccxiv, col. 419.

17. Most historians have neglected to point out the importance of this event. Cf. Green, *History of the English People*, i, 178, with the contemporaneous account in the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, *Rolls series*, London, 1867, i, 31-32, and in the *Materials for the history of Thomas Becket*, *Rolls series*, London, 1885, vii, 513-516. The stage-setting was superb, as any visitor at Avranches even to-day will testify.

18. Pommeraye, *Archevêques*, 376; P. Chesnel, *Le Cotentin et l'Avranchin sous les ducs de Normandie, 911-1204*, Caen, 1912, pp. 59-63, 179-180.

19. Duchesne, 1056; N. Brussel, *Nouvel examen de l'usage générale des fiefs en France*, Paris, 1727, i, 282-283.

20. Ordericus Vitalis, iii, 312-314, iv, 448; Viollet, *Institutions*, ii, 345-349. The ducal possession of the regalia of the archbishop of Rouen, together with the clerical counter-claims, is of some interest; Duchesne, 1056; Pommeraye, *Archevêques*, 377-388; Brussel, i, 282-283; *Cartulaire normand*, No. 166; Bessin, ii, 33; Luchaire, *Manuel*, 49, 50.

21. William the Conqueror had degraded an archbishop of Rouen, Ordericus Vitalis, i, 184; members of the ducal household could not be excommunicated without the knowledge of the duke, Duchesne, 1060; Round, No. 1318.

22. Haskins, 37-38; Powicke, 93-98; E. Semichon, *La paix et la trêve de Dieu*, Paris, 1851, i, *passim*; Round, Nos. 290, 1318; A. Canel, *Le combat judiciaire en Normandie, Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, xxii, 579; Pollock and Maitland, *The History of the English Law*, Cambridge, 1898, i, 52.

23. Haskins, 35-36, 170-171, for Lillebonne; more generally, Ordericus Vitalis, ii, 306, 228; *Chronica*, Robert of Torigny, ed. L. Delisle, Rouen, 1872-73, i, 59, 64. All excommunicated persons were in the mercy of the duke for a year and a day, *Coutumiers de Normandie*, ed. E.-J. Tardif, Rouen, 1881, i, I, *Le Très Ancien Coutumier de Normandie*, c. 2.

24. Tardif, cc. 5-6; some cases were taken out of the ecclesiastical courts, especially cases in regard to dowry rights, mainly because of the complicated system of appeals in the clerical courts which delayed justice. Also Tardif, c. 2; L. Valin, *Le duc de Normandie et sa cour, 912-1204*, Paris, 1910, *pièces justificatives*, No. 281.

25. *Rotuli chartarum*, 1199-1216, ed. T. D. Hardy, London, 1837, p. 15; E. A. Pigeon *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, Coutances, 1888, ii, 324; E.-J. Tardif, *Étude sur les sources de l'ancien droit normand*, *Extrait du Congrès du Millénaire Normand*, Rouen, 1911, p. 5; A. Coville, *Les états de Normandie*, Paris, 1894, pp. 10-16, 247-256; Valin, 101, 104; the later difficulties of the French kings with the Norman bishops may have been due in part to this tradition of secular activity, C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII*, Paris, 1894, p. 408.

26. *Cartulaire normand*, No. 132; *H. F.* xxiii, 694; *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae*, London, 1840-44, ed. T. Stapleton, ii, 296, 476, 547; some lands were not granted to churchmen on account of the kind of service required, Tardif, c. 48; the tendency to limit ecclesiastical exemptions can be seen in a document of 1204, Bessin, 102; the exemption was often of little use in an emergency, *H. F.* xxiv, *Preuves*, No. 22.

27. M. Rabasse, *Du régime des fiefs en Normandie au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1905, pp. 56-69; Chesnel, 205-206.

28. The ducal officers even paid tithes and fixed charges granted by barons on tolls which had subsequently come into the hands of the duke, Stapleton, i, pp. lxiv, cxviii, 8, 14, 17, 82; *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. A. Hughes, C. G. Crump, C. Johnson, Oxford, 1902, ii, c. 10. Typical gifts and exemptions: *Bibliothèque du chapitre de Bayeux*, Ms. No. 163, f. 19; exemption from the tallage of the king for the churches of Évreux, Archives of the Eure, G 123, No. 456; the acquisition of land by an abbey by paying a nominal sum to a Jewish creditor of the grantee, *ibid.* H 490; *ibid.* H 506; Bessin, 100; *Cartulaire normand*, Nos. 31, 46-47, etc.

29. His personal morals were typical of those of his father and brothers and will not bear investigation, Pigeon, *Avranches*, ii, 319-320.

30. Bessin, 90 ff.; Pollock and Maitland, i, 111; H. Brunner, *Die Entstehung der Schwurgerichte*, Berlin, 1872, p. 250.

31. Archives of the Calvados, H 2; *Cartulaire normand*, Nos. 31, 46-47; *Livre noir*, i, No. 20; Ms. Latin n. a. 1244 (*Bibliothèque nationale*), ff. 94, 101, 158, 163, 190, 214, 218, 278, 292, 390, 434; Ms. Lat. 1105, f. 26.

32. *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, etc.*, ed. T. Rymer, Record Commission, 1816, i, 74, for his testament.

33. Stubbs, *Introductions*, 320; Powicke, 157.

34. Migne, ccxiv, col. 415 (1198), col. 595 (1199); *Chronica*, Roger of Hoveden, *Rolls series*, London, 1868-71, iv, 19 (1197).

35. *H. F.* xvii, 178 (*Philippis*); Coggeshall, 77; Hoveden, iv, 21, 23, 40-42, 78-79; Cartellieri, iii, 18-19.

36. Viollet, *Institutions*, ii, 402-403.

37. *Infra*, p. 29. Diceto, ii, 111, for the not uncertain manner in which he informs the archbishop that royal writs are to be obeyed.

38. *Rotuli Chartarum*, 75-76, 100; Round, No. 257; Ms. Latin n. a. 1244, f. 160; Ms. Latin n. a. 1428, No. 66; Archives of the Eure, H 1264; Archives of the Manche, H 188; *ibid.* *Cartulary of Savigny*, f. 147; Archives of the Orne, H 928, No. cclxx; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre Dame de Bon-Port*, ed. J. Andrieux, Évreux, 1862, pp. 29-30.

39. Stapleton, ii, 547; *Rotuli Normanniae*, 34; R. N. Sauvage, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Troarn*, Caen, 1911, pp. 64-65. He disregarded the compromise of 1190 (Diceto, ii, 86-88) and imposed a tallage upon ecclesiastical property, *Rotuli Normanniae*, 65.

40. Norgate, *John Lackland*, 62, 66; *Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolnienensis*, *Rolls series*, London, 1864, pp. 288-294.

41. Migne, ccxiv, cols. 1175-77: a list of John's offences as drawn up by Innocent III follows:

Preventing papal legates from travelling in Normandy.

Expulsion of the bishop of Limoges and seizure of his revenues.

Destruction of the church at Poitiers.

Prevention of elections in order to get the revenue of vacant sees.

Oppression of the canons of Séez and the continued non-admission of their bishop to the diocese.

That which you did at Coutances which you think we do not know.

The exile of the archbishop of York.

42. The best source for the whole affair of the disputed election of Séez of 1201-03 is the letter of Innocent III to the prior and canons of Séez in 1202, Migne, ccxiv, col. 1038 ff. This should be supplemented by various entries in the patent rolls, many of which are printed together as *pièces justificatives* for the only secondary account of any importance, Dom L. Guilloreau, *Revue catholique de Normandie*, xxv, (1916), 423 ff. This article is almost a literal translation of the principal documents; no attempt is made to put the events in their historical setting. Also see *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 691-692; Brussel, i, 285-286.

43. *Rev. cath. de Normandie*, xxv, 423, for list of alienations; *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 169, for list of possessions as confirmed by Innocent III in 1199. For documents concerning Lisiard, see Ms. Latin 11055, f. 119; Ms. Latin 11058, ff. 34-35, 43; *Bibliothèque municipale d'Alençon*, Ms. 190, *passim*; Archives of the Orne, H 1773. For donations to the church of Séez in the years 1190-1220, see Ms. Latin 11059, ff. 24-215, especially ff. 55-79; Ms. Latin 11058, *passim*. The successor to Lisiard made some alienations, Ms. Latin 5424, f. 119.

44. *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, ed. T. D. Hardy, London, 1835, p. 8.

45. Migne, ccxiv, col. 1041.

46. *Rot. Litt. Pat.* 6, for the safe-conduct of the prior and seven canons.

47. Chesnel, 168-180, lists the precedents; Luchaire, *Manuel*, 32, for the case of 1144 when ducal officials mutilated the bishop-elect at the instigation of Geoffrey.

48. *Rot. Litt. Pat.* 7.

49. *Ibid.*, 6, 8.

50. *Ibid.*, 8.

51. *Ibid.*, 16.

52. *Ibid.*, 13, 22, John writes to Rouen and Sens telling them of the measures taken against the clergy who tried to aid Sylvester. The last two letters are printed in the *Rev. cath. de Normandie*, xxv, 437, Nos. 7-8, but with erroneous dates.

53. *Rot. Litt. Pat.* 33.

54. *Rotuli de Liberate*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 1844, p. 72. The text of the writ is not without its interest. "Audivimus dici S. Sagiensem archidiaconum electum esse et consecratum non requisito assensu nostro, quod est contra dignitatem et libertatem nostram et terre nostre." He then provides that Sylvester shall be admitted within the diocese and for the indemnification of his clergy. "Nos siquidem loco et tempore domino Pape jus nostrum significabimus sicut alia vice significavimus et ab eo nobis justiciam fieri super hoc postulabimus secundum jus et dignitas nostra et antiqua et approbata nostri ducatus exigit consuetudo." John was not through with Innocent III at this point by any means. England was under the interdict in 1208; John was excommunicated in 1209; he surrendered to the pope in 1213.

55. We have several documents which Sylvester sealed as bishop in 1203, e.g. Ms. Latin, 11059, f. 90. *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales, Orne, Série H*, ii (Alençon, 1894), ii, H 2162, mentions Sylvester as a bishop in the summary of a document of 1200. The real date of the document is 1205.

56. For the activities of Sylvester as bishop, see Ms. Latin 11059, ff. 24-215; Ms. Latin 10065, f. 79; Archives of the Calvados, H 117; Delisle, *Recueil de jugemens de l'échiquier de Normandie*, Paris, 1864, pp. 263-264.

57. *Supra*, Nos. 12-15; Viollet, *Institutions*, ii, 341-342, for a similar contest of Louis VII and the chapter of Bourges; C. W. David, *Robert Curthose*, Cambridge, 1920, 154-155.

58. C. W. David, *Robert Curthose*, 156-157.

59. Migne, ccxiv-ccxvii; R. L. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the Time of Innocent III*, Cambridge, 1915.

60. Migne, ccxv, col. 1480; *ibid.*, ccxiv, col. 549; *ibid.*, ccxv, col. 254, where five canons are to mediate between bishop and chapter. The latter sounds very much like the four priests of the treaty of 1195, *infra*, p. 28.

61. Bessin, 101.

62. Migne, ccxiv, cols. 222, 497, 868, 180; *ibid.*, ccxv, col. 269; *Livre noir*, ii, No. 327; Bessin, ii, 39.

63. Migne, ccxiv, col. 352; the *Livre noir* abounds in papal directions to the clergy of Bayeux to keep up their claims, e.g., Nos. clviii, clxii, clxiii, clxiv, clxv, cxcii, cxcv, cxcviii.

64. For instructions to bishops, Migne, ccxiv, cols. 196, 222, 195; Bessin, 101, "ab uno episcopo excommunicatus, ab aliis pariter est vitandus; et ad episcopum suum remitti absolvendus." For letters upholding the powers of a bishop, see Bessin, ii, 525-526.

65. A whole group of letters is devoted to the affairs of the various peace embassies, of which that of the abbot of Casamare in 1203-04 was the most important; Migne, ccxv, cols. 176, 181, 182, 329, 425; Hefele, v. 2, pp. 1230-1231; Mansi, xxii, 745-750.

66. Migne, ccxv, col. 182, and *ibid.*, col. 176, where he claims to settle the disputes of John and Philip Augustus, not "de jure," but "de peccato." Also see Viollet, *Institutions*, ii, 278-279; J. N. Figgis, *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius*, Cambridge, 1907, pp. 4, 230; *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays*, 1917, pp. xxvii-xxviii, 26 ff. (G. B. Adams, *Innocent III and the Great Charter*).

67. Migne, ccxv, cols. 562, 831, 839, 1043-44, 1048, 1208.

68. Innocent also befriended Richard, Cartellieri, iii, 171; he saw to it that his widow got her dowry from John (no trivial accomplishment), Migne, ccxv, cols. 220, 1537.

69. Migne, ccxiv, col. 984.

70. French bishops were present in Rome in 1203-04 to plead the cause of Philip Augustus; neither English nor Norman prelates were sent to present John's case, Hefele, v, 2, pp. 1230-1231.

71. Philip Augustus seems to have been the only participant in the events of 1203-04 who properly appreciated their importance.

72. He was under no illusions as to the suffering of the church in time of war, Migne, ccxv, col. 64.

73. *Ibid.*, ccxv, col. 564.

74. For the importance of the archbishop in Norman history, H. Prentout, *La Normandie*, Paris, 1914, p. 58; Tardif, *Sources*, 26.

75. Pommeraye, *Archevêques*, 373; L. Delisle, *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, Paris, 1909, introduction, 106; cf. *Histoire Littéraire*, xvi, 536, which argues for French origin.

76. *Histoire Littéraire*, xvi, 541-544; *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 52-54; Diceto, ii, 125 (the great friendship of Walter and the emperor), 112, 158.

77. *Histoire Littéraire*, xvi, 541.

78. Diceto, ii, 90, 112; he also held pleas in Wiltshire as late as 1203-04, Public Record Office, Pipe Roll No. 50 (1203-04), membrane 19. Stubbs, *Introductions*, 246, does not estimate the abilities of Walter very highly; see also Delisle, *Henri II*, 106 ff. for his activities in England.

79. *Histoire Littéraire*, xvi, 555-560, for a list of his writings. For additional biographical material, see *Dictionary of National Biography*; Pommeraye, *Archevêques*, 373-438; T. Bonnin, *Cartulaire de Louviers*, i, 13, Nos. 5 ff. (Paris, 1870-83).

80. Powicke, 175, suggests that Walter was one of the founders of the Gallican liberties. The comparison with Becket cannot be pushed too far.

81. Ms. Latin n. a. 1244, f. 398, Richard tells him that he will evict him from his lands and take over all his revenue if the archbishop will not consent to act as a pledge for his peace with Philip Augustus; see also Diceto, ii, 111.

82. Yet the "Stabilimentum" of 1205 (Duchesne, 1059-61) shows Walter allowing ducal restrictions upon the courts Christian which should have caused the opposition of a less energetic man. Cf. W. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, Oxford, 1913, p. 161, c. 3 (Constitutions of Clarendon). This seems to reopen the old question as to just what Becket objected to in the latter document and with what right.

83. Migne, ccxiv, cols. 93, 195, 205, 219, 222; Mansi, xxii, 620; *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 58; Archives of the Seine-Inférieure, G 1119.

84. Migne, ccxiv, col. 219, where the reply was delayed some two years.

85. Archives of the Seine-Inférieure, G 3593, for bull of Eugenius III confirming the primacy of Normandy to Rouen; cf. Viollet, *Institutions*, ii, 320.

86. *Histoire Littéraire*, xvi, 551; Krehbiel, *Interdict*, 20-21.

87. Archives of the Seine-Inférieure, G 3706, a letter to the canons thanking them for their aid in the defence of the property of the cathedral.

88. A. Cheruel, *Histoire de Rouen*, Rouen, 1843, i, 40-54; *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 53-54; Round, Nos. 64, 65, 67.

89. *Rotuli Normanniae*, 3; cf. *supra*, note No. 82.

90. Mansi, xxii, 582-586, and elsewhere with varying dates; Pommeraye, *Archevêques*, 384-388, gives 29 canons in place of the usual 32.

91. The question was that of the transference of a bishop-elect from one diocese to another, a right which the pope claimed as his exclusive privilege at this time; Bessin, ii, 368; *H. F.* xix, 361-374; Pigeon, *Avranches*, ii, 332; Luchaire, *Manuel*, 47.

92. Walter was able to place some of his relatives in high office; *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 146, for Sanson, abbot of Caen and continuously in charge of the exchequer in this period.

93. *H. F.* xix, 334-335.

94. Migne, ccxiv, col. 984.

95. *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 54; Diceto, ii, 135-137; *Epistolae*, Peter of Blois, ed. J. A. Giles, Oxford, 1846-47, Nos. 124-125; Cartellieri, iii, 124-125.

96. Powicke has put a great deal of emphasis upon this episode in an article in the *English Historical Review* (xxvii) under title 'Philip Augustus and the Archbishop of Rouen,' but the same material may be found in the *Histoire Littéraire*, xvi, 545-546.

97. Migne, ccxv, col. 255.

98. *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 55; Cheruel, *Rouen*, i, 52; Archives of the Seine-Inférieure, G 3678; cf. Round, No. 389.

99. Migne, ccvii, col. 369; Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, No. 138.

100. *Rotuli Normanniae*, 1-2; *Rotuli Chartarum*, 59, 69; Diceto, ii, 148-158; Hoveden, iv, 16-19, 125; *Cartulaire Normand*, Nos. 45-46; also Powicke, 172-173, for the literature of the subject.

101. Matthew Paris, ii, 120.

102. Hoveden, iv, 17-18.

103. Pommeraye, *Archevêques*, 425, gives the text of the inscriptions which Walter had placed upon the crosses set up to mark the new boundaries of his lands. It begins with the phrase "Vicisti, Galtère, tui sunt signa triumphi," and then proceeds to a metrical enumeration.

104. Great care was taken in the drawing up of these documents. Walter, Richard, John, Philip Augustus, Celestine III, and Innocent III all sealed the final document. John's confirmation gives up to Walter the disputed points in a number of minor differences between them, but he retained judicial rights, especially the control of the pleas of the sword when held in the primate's court. This confirmation is at once one of the most important and one of the most puzzling of our sources of information concerning the administration of justice in the duchy in this period.

105. Diceto, ii, 157.

106. Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, No. 138, for a letter of congratulation elicited by the event.

107. Krehbiel, *The Interdict*, 86 ff. There were twenty-seven threats of the interdict between 1198 and 1216, and seven of them concerned John. There were seventy-five local general interdicts between the fourth century and 1159 and fifty-seven between 1198 and 1216. The secular powers had some protection against the indiscriminate use of the interdict and of excommunication. Mansi, xxii, 620; *H. F.* xvii, 51.

108. Mansi, xxii, 616; Ms. Latin 5423; f. 61, ". . . clausis januis, exclusis excommunicatis et interdictis, non pulsatis campanis, suppressa voce, . . ."

109. The enforcement of the interdict could be real enough on occasion, Hoveden, iv, 16.

110. Other prelates in Normandy also used the interdict rather widely; Archives of the Orne, H 2162, for Sylvester of Séz; *ibid.*, H 2156; other examples may be found in the other dioceses, e.g., Archives of the Manche, H 429; Archives of the Eure, G 122; Archives of the Seine-Inférieure, G 1118; *Cartulaire de Bon-Port*, ed. Andrieux, 44, No. xliii.

111. A. Poignant, *Histoire de la conquête de la Normandie par Philippe Auguste en 1204*, Paris, 1854, pp. 112-113, 158, thinks that Walter was not in Rouen when the city capitulated in 1204.

112. Walter occupied the archiepiscopal chair for twenty-two years.

113. After 1204 Walter makes few appearances in the records. He invested Philip Augustus with the duchy, his third performance of that ceremony. He made no objection to the inquest of 1205, although a clause was included which prohibited the excommunication of members of the ducal household without ducal consent; Henry II and Becket had fought over a similar clause forty years before. In 1207 he asked Philip Augustus for a new procedure for the determination of the ownership of presentations, and received it. He died in 1207. Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, No. 448 and *Histoire Littéraire*, xvi, 554-555, for eulogies: Pommeraye, *Archevesques*, 438, prints some of the inscriptions inspired by his death.

114. *Cartulaire normand*, Nos. 1066, 1068-69, 59, 64-65, for gifts of new privileges to the Norman clergy; Powicke, 385, for their effect upon Rouen. *Cartulaire normand*, Nos. 1064, 55, 61, 294-295, for specific grants of the right of free election, but see Petit-Dutaillis, *Louis VIII*, 406, who thinks that he merely meant that elections should take place in accordance with the usual forms. The whole question of the relations between Philip and the Norman clergy in the year of the conquest and in the years immediately following needs further investigation.

115. Migne, cccv, col. 564.

INTERMEDIARIES IN JEWISH THEOLOGY

MEMRA, SHEKINAH, METATRON

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I. MEMRA, SHEKINAH

THE Christian interpretation of the Old Testament was early set upon finding in it a figure corresponding to the Son, or the Word (Logos), in the New Testament, a divine being, intermediary between God the Father and the world in creation, revelation, and redemption. For Christian theology, with its philosophical presumptions, a God who visibly and audibly manifested himself to men in human form and action was necessarily such a being; the Supreme God, in his supramundane exaltation or his metaphysical transcendence, could not be imagined thus immediately to intervene in mundane affairs. In this assumption and to a considerable extent in their particular interpretations the Fathers had a precursor in the Jewish theologian Philo. One of the chief ends of their apologetic was to demonstrate to Jews — or against them — *first*, that their own Scriptures made the existence of such a being undeniable; and *second*, that — incarnate, crucified, risen, enthroned at the right hand of God, presently to come in judgment — he was no other than the Messiah whom the Jews had rejected and the Lord whom the Christians worshipped as Saviour.

From apologetic this passed into the tradition of both exegesis and dogmatics, and was to Christian consciousness so self-evident that no other understanding of the Old Testament seemed possible. Accordingly, when argument with Jews was revived in the thirteenth century it was assumed that ancient and unprejudiced Jewish students of the Scriptures must have understood them in the same way, however their successors, in the exigencies of controversy, might dissimulate the fact.

On this presumption Christian scholars searched the earlier Jewish literature, the Targums,¹ Talmuds, and Midrash, for Christian doctrine, or at least adumbrations of it. Such research continued in the succeeding centuries down to the eighteenth; a vast mass of testimony was uncritically accumulated, and conclusions drawn which obtained general assent and continue to be accepted in some quarters to the present time. In the Memra of the Targums, the Word (Logos) was recognized, so to speak, in his own name and character; the Shekinah was sometimes taken for the Second Person of the Trinity, sometimes for the Third; after cabalistic studies came into vogue, the mysterious Metatron joined the ranks of the intermediaries.²

As was pointed out in a former article in this Review,³ the material that was diligently collected to prove that Jewish theology made a place for a being (or beings) of divine nature through whose mediation the ends of the Supreme God were effectuated in the world of nature and of men as they were in Christian theology by the Son and Spirit has more recently been appropriated to prove that Jewish theology, *unlike* Christian, interposed intermediaries between God and the world, rendered necessary by its 'transcendent' idea of God, of which error, conversely, the invention of such intermediaries is the proof. Christian investigation and discussion of the terms Memra and Shekinah have thus in all stages been inspired and directed by a theological motive, and the results come around in a circle to the theological prepossessions from which they set out.

Jewish discussion of the subject has generally approached it as a phase of the problem of the anthropomorphisms of Scripture.⁴ Maimonides, in particular, who combated the notion that God had body or form not only as irrational but as a deadly heresy, and expended much ingenuity at the very beginning of his Moreh in interpreting the seemingly anthropomorphic expressions of Scripture as metaphors or otherwise rendering them innocuous, claimed the authority of Onkelos for this principle and procedure. 'Onkelos, the proselyte, perfectly versed in Hebrew and Aramaic, takes all pains to remove the

ascription of corporeity (to God), and whenever the Scripture employs an expression that suggests corporeity, he interprets it according to its (true) meaning.' 'Onkelos avoids the ascription of corporeity (to God), and everything that might in the remotest way suggest it.' ⁵ Such, indeed, according to Maimonides, must be the endeavor of every intelligent man.

Maimonides' own Arab-Aristotelian metaphysic prescribed to him the idea of God as simple Unity in so rigorous a sense as to exclude not only all likeness to man, bodily or mental, but all attributes, whether defined as essential, accessory, or relative, and led him to regard the ascription of any attributes as only a subtler form of the anthropomorphism which attributed to him organs or actions. Of the latter, motion was peculiarly objectionable, since it put God in space; and rest, because it implied motion as its opposite. Onkelos seemed to him to share this objection, for he regularly paraphrases passages in which God is said to go or come, to ascend or descend, etc., sometimes by the introduction of *memra*, sometimes of *yekara*, most frequently of *shekinta*. In so doing, he believed that Onkelos had given the true meaning, whilst the letter of Scripture was levelled to the apprehension of the common man. The Glory or the Presence of God, as he conceived it, was not a reverent circumlocution for God, but a created light by which God's invisible presence was manifest to men; and similarly the voice, or the word, of God was a created sound.⁶ In thus describing them Maimonides excludes personality and participation in the divine nature. His *Memra* and *Shekinah* may be called intermediary agencies, not intermediate beings, if there be any profit in labelling them at all. His contemporary, R. Moses ben Nahman, in his commentary on Gen. 46, 4 (a verse with which Maimonides had to wrestle as an apparent exception in Onkelos), and on Exod. 20, 16, contests the adequacy of the principle Maimonides ascribes to Onkelos to account for the phenomena, as well as the validity of his explanation. How the critic himself conceived the *Shekinah* and the rest is not made clear. None of these writers subjected the usage of Onkelos to a comprehensive analysis; the discussion turned chiefly about a few striking verses in the Pentateuch.

A sounder method of investigation is adopted by modern Jewish scholars who have dealt with the question. First among these stands Samuel David Luzzatto, with his *מאמר* (Philoxenus), published in 1830. Luzzatto minutely analyses the changes Onkelos makes in his translation, and classifies them by the reasons for them. More than this, he put investigation on the right track by laying down at the outset the proposition, 'The Targum was not made for scholars, but for the unlettered masses' (p. 1) — a proposition which was, he was well aware, as revolutionary as it is sound. Luzzatto's own discussion of *memra*, *yekara*, and *shekinta* is brief, and he fortifies himself with the authority of a long quotation from Isaac Arama, who treats them as respectful circumlocutions. A special investigation, largely occupied with these particular terms, was made by Siegmund Maybaum, 'Die Anthropomorphien und Anthropopathien bei Onkelos und den späteren Targumim (Breslau, 1870), which is a comprehensive — for *memra* in Onkelos an exhaustive — mustering and classification of the relevant passages by the side of the Hebrew original with explanatory comment. The most thorough investigation of the whole subject is that of M. Ginsburger, 'Die Anthropomorphismen in den Thargumim,' in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, XVII (1891), pp. 262–280 and 430–458, which contains by far the most comprehensive collection of examples, and is of especial importance for its full presentation of the usage of the Palestinian Targums, which his predecessors had adduced only casually, devoting their attention almost solely to Onkelos. In the second part of his study the usage of the Targums on the Hagiographa is also set forth.

A re-examination of the subject from a philological point of view is the purpose of the present article, in which no attempt is made to record the very extensive literature or the history of interpretation.⁷ For a complete understanding of the motive of the translators in using these particular terms it would be necessary to consider them in the larger connection of the whole usage of the Targums in their substitutions and paraphrases, but this is much too extensive a subject to be entered upon here. The English reader may profitably acquaint himself with

Luzzatto's exhibition of this usage as summarized by E. Deutsch in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, American Edition, Vol. IV, pp. 3404-3407.

It may not be superfluous to correct at the outset any notion that Onkelos and the others in their versions systematically, if not altogether consistently, eliminate or neutralize the anthropomorphisms of the original. Assertions of this sort are indeed still found in books that the layman naturally takes for authorities.⁸ The same erroneous impression may be acquired from works which deal methodically with the procedure of the translators in this matter. The attention of the author and the reader is there concentrated on the cases and occasions in which expressions are modified that, at least in the vernacular, sounded irreverent or undignified, and circumlocutions introduced where a literal rendering literally understood might fortify the common man's imagination of a God who behaved too much like himself. The complement of this one-sided impression, namely the limited range of such paraphrases and the wide extent in which the Targums leave the anthropomorphisms of the original untouched, can only come by continuous reading of the Targums, and only in the same way can the peculiarities of the several Targums be learned. Any one, however, who will take the trouble to read the Targum of Onkelos on the story of the Garden of Eden in Gen. 2-3, or on God's visit to Abraham in Gen. 18, will be disabused of the notion that the translator shrinks from a literal rendering of even the most palpable anthropomorphisms. On the other hand, circumlocutions and buffer-words are introduced with a good deal of consistency in places that seem to us much more harmless.

This is strikingly true of the uses of *memra*, generally translated 'word,' and frequently printed with a question-begging capital, 'the Word.' To dispel misunderstandings at the outset we may begin by showing when and how *memra* is *not* used. First, then, 'the *memra* of the Lord' in the Targums is not employed as the Aramaic equivalent of 'the word of the Lord' (דבר יהוה) in the Hebrew Scriptures. The Hebrew *dabar*, in all senses and uses, is customarily rendered in the Targums by

pitgama. The 'word of the Lord,' or 'of God,' is *pitgama de-Y*. (e.g. Gen. 15, 1), not *memra de-Y*.; ⁹ and similarly in 'my word,' 'thy word,' 'his word,' when the pronouns refer to God. The word of the Lord to a prophet is *pitgam nebu'a*, a word of prophecy, e.g. Hosea 1, 2, 'the word of prophecy from before Y. which was with Hosea.' See also 1 Kings 12, 22; Jer. 1, 2, 4, 11, 13; 2, 1, etc. It is idle to multiply examples of a uniform usage. It holds in the cases which seem to approach most nearly to a personification of the 'word of the Lord,' such as Isa. 40, 8, 'The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God abideth forever'; Targum, 'The wicked man dies and his plans perish, but the word of our God (*pitgama de-elahana*) abideth forever; Isa. 55, 11 (*pitgam tubi*); Jer. 23, 29 (*kol pitgamai*, cf. 5, 14 *pitgame nebuati*). The Targum on the Psalms is too late to be taken in evidence here, but it may be observed that, although *memra* occurs frequently in it, when it comes to translate Psalm 33, 6, 'By the word of the Lord (LXX $\tau\hat{\omega}$ $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$) were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth,' it renders 'word' not by *memra*, but by the common *milla*.¹⁰ It may be added that *memra* is not employed, as seems sometimes to be imagined, as a standing circumlocution for 'God said,' or 'God spoke'; the Targums have no scruples about translating these phrases literally.¹¹

Thus, wherever the 'word of the Lord' is the medium or instrumentality of revelation, or of communication to men, in Greek $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega\varsigma$ or $\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha$, the term employed for this medium in the Targums is not *memra*, but *pitgama*, or (seldom), as in the example cited above from Psalm 33, 6, *milla*.

Further, where the creative activity of God is spoken of in the Scriptures, the Targums do not represent this activity as mediated by his *memra*. Isa. 45, 12 is an apparent exception of the kind which in the proper sense of the dictum *probat regulam*. See also Deut. 33, 27, in a midrashic interpretation of the difficult words translated in our Bibles, 'underneath are the everlasting arms,' where Onkelos has, 'By his word (*memra*, fiat) the world was created.' The full importance of these observations will appear in the sequel, when we come to consider

the supposed relation of *memra* in the Targums to the Logos in Philo.¹²

With so much by way of introduction, we may turn to an examination of the meaning and use of *memra*.

Memar (definite, *memra*) is the Aramaic counterpart of the late Hebrew *ma'amar*, from *amar*, 'say.' The nouns signify something that is said, *dictum*, in the widest sense of the term. If what is said has authority behind it, it acquires from the context the connotation of command ('edict'). So the 'ten words' (*debarim*) of Exod. 34, 28, become for us the Ten Commandments; the world was created by ten commands (*ma'amerim*, 'fiats,' in Gen. 1), Aboth 5, 1, cf. Megillah 21b. In this sense *memar* is used in the Targums to interpret the Hebrew *peh* ('mouth') in idiomatic phrases, e.g. Gen. 45, 21, על פי פה, Targ. 'al *memra de-Par'oh*; the English versions, 'according to the commandment (edict) of Pharaoh.' The accounts of the tabernacle were rendered 'by order of Moses' ('al *memra de-Mosheh*, Exod. 38, 21); 'at the order of Aaron ('al *memar Aharon*) and his sons shall be all the service of the Gershonites,' (Num. 4, 27). 'Moses . . . died there in the land of Moab by the command of God ('al *memra de-Y.*, Deut. 34, 5). *Memra* is used to render other expressions which imply command; for example, in Gen. 41, 44, Pharaoh says to Joseph, 'I am Pharaoh, and without thee (ובלעדיך) shall no man lift up hand or foot in all the land of Egypt.' Onkelos renders, 'without thy command' (בר מצוה) shall no man raise his hand to lay hold of a weapon,' etc.

When men disobey the command (literally 'mouth') of God (*pi Yahveh*), or refuse obedience to it,¹³ the Targum renders by *memra*; e.g. Deut. 1, 26, 'Ye refused to go up, and rebelled against the command (*memra*) of God.'¹⁴ Similarly, when they are said to transgress the commandment of God;¹⁵ e.g. Num. 14, 41, 'Ye transgress the commandment of God'; Onkelos, 'Ye transgress the decree of the edict of God' (*gezerat memra de-Y.*)¹⁶ So also with other verbs.¹⁷ Num. 11, 20, 'Ye spurned the Lord who is in the midst of you'; 'Ye spurned the word (*memra*) of Y. whose presence (*shekinta*) abode among you.' Num. 21, 5, 'The people spoke against God and against

Moses'; 'The people murmured against the word (*memra*) of Y., and contended against Moses.' Deut. 32, 51, 'Because ye proved false to me in the midst of the Israelites'; 'Because ye proved false to my word' (*memri*).

On the other hand, to hearken to God, or to his voice, is in the Targums regularly to receive (implying, 'obey') the command (*memra*) of God; e.g. Lev. 26, 14, 'If ye do not hearken unto me,' etc.; Onkelos renders, 'If ye do not receive my command' (*memri*); Deut. 28, 15, 'If ye do not hearken to the voice (*qol*) of the Lord your God, by observing and doing all his commandments'; Onkelos, 'If you do not receive the command' (*memra*), etc. As the latter example shows, the Hebrew *qol*, 'voice,' when it implies a command, is rendered by *memra*; when this implication is not present, it is interpreted *qal memra*; e.g. Gen. 3, 8, Adam and Eve 'heard the voice of the Lord'; Onkelos, 'heard the sound of the word (*qal memra*) of Y. (the sound of Y. speaking), who was walking in the garden' (cf. 23, 10). So also Deut. 5, 21, 'We have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire'; Onkelos, *qal memreh*; and likewise in verses 25 and 26; cf. Deut. 4, 36, 'From heaven he made thee hear his voice'; Onkelos again, *qal memreh*.

In the phrase last quoted *memra* is not understood to imply command, and this is the case in a large number of passages to a consideration of which we now proceed. Notice may be directed first to places where the Bible narrates that God came to some one and spoke to him. Thus in Gen. 20, 3, 'God came to Abimelech in a dream of the night, and said to him'; Onkelos renders, 'A word (*memar*) from before Y. came to Abimelech in a dream of the night, and said to him.' Precisely so to Laban (Gen. 31, 24), and to Balaam (Num. 22, 9, with no mention of a dream). The paraphrase is natural; and there is additional reason for it in the fact that the recipients of these visits of God are not Israelites. Still stronger reason for paraphrase is given in Num. 23, 3, where Balaam bids Balak stand by his sacrifice, 'and I will go; perhaps the Lord will come to meet me,' and verse 4, 'The Lord met Balaam, and he said to Him, I have prepared the seven altars,' etc. Onkelos renders, 'Perhaps an oracle from before Y. (*memar min qadam*

Y.) will come to meet me, and the word (*pitgama*) that he shall show me, I will disclose to thee'; and in verse 4, 'And an oracle (*memar*) from before Y. met Balaam,' etc. In connection with this, verse 5 must be noted: 'Y. put the word (*pitgama*) in Balaam's mouth.'

Similar caution is evident, however, where God says that he will meet with the Israelites at the Tabernacle on stated occasions. Exod. 25, 22f., Onkelos, 'I will cause my word (*memri*, oracle) to meet thee there, and I will speak with thee from above the place of atonement (*kapporeth*), from between the two cherubs,' etc.; Exod. 29, 42, 43, Onkelos, 'I will cause my oracle (*memri*) to meet with you there, to speak with thee there; and I will cause my oracle to meet with the Israelites, and it (the Tabernacle) shall be sanctified by my glory.' In Exod. 19, 17, 'Moses brought the people out of the camp to meet God'; Onkelos, 'towards the oracle (*memra*) of God.' In these cases the paraphrase is natural, since in the first two the text and in the last the context make the revealing of the will of God the object of the meeting; but in both the motive for paraphrasing at all is plainly to avoid the imagination of a meeting between men and God in *propria persona*. For this there was explicit warrant in Deut. 4, 12: 'Y. spoke to you out of the midst of the fire; ye heard the sound of words (*gal pitgamin*), but a form ye did not see, only the sound (voice).' In Exod. 3, 18, where the Hebrew is, 'Say unto him (Pharaoh), The Lord, the God of the Hebrews, met us,' Onkelos has, 'appeared to us' (cf. vs. 16); see also 5, 3.¹⁸ Note further Exod. 4, 12 (cf. 15), God says to Moses 'I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt speak'; Onkelos, 'my word (*memri*) shall be with thy mouth,' etc.

Here may perhaps most appropriately be introduced the scene between Jacob and Laban, Gen. 31, 49 f.: 'The Lord be on the lookout between me and thee when we are out of one another's sight. . . . God is witness between me and thee'; Onkelos in both verses, 'the word (*memra*) of Y.'

Natural paraphrase is to be seen also in such cases as Gen. 15, 6, Abraham 'believed in (put confidence in) God, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness'; Onkelos, 'He be-

lieved in the oracle (*memra*) of Y.,' namely, the promise contained in verses 1-5. Exod. 14, 31, When the Israelites saw the great work the Lord did on the Egyptians, they feared the Lord, 'and believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses'; Onkelos, 'in the oracle (*memra*) of Y. and in the prophecy of Moses his servant'; see also Num. 20, 12; Deut. 1, 32.

Where the Hebrew is literally, 'God said in his heart (mind),' that is, said to himself, Onkelos renders 'said in (or, by) his word' (*bememreh*: *dixit in dicto suo*); see Gen. 8, 21; cf. 6, 6. In the same way Onkelos interprets the enigmatic 'and God knew' of Exod. 2, 25, 'God said in his word to deliver them,' i.e. conceived the purpose. When God swears by himself, as in Gen. 22, 16, Onkelos has, 'by my word (*bememri*) I have established.' ¹⁹ So in Exod. 6, 8, 'I will bring you into the land which I lifted up my hand (swore) to give to Abraham,' etc.; cf. Num. 14, 30. The same formula is used when a man adjures another by God. Places in which it is said that God 'repented' (was sorry, changed his mind) are treated in various ways, according to the context. An instance of the use of *memra* is Gen. 6, 6, 'God repented that he had made man'; Onkelos, 'Y. turned in his word (*memreh*, thought, we should say) that he had made man.' Correspondingly in vs. 7. So also 1 Sam. 15, 11 and 35; Zech. 8, 14, Targum, 'my word (thought, *memri*) did not turn.'

Passages in which it is said that God will fight for the Israelites are paraphrased; e.g. Deut. 3, 22, 'For the Lord your God, he it is that fighteth for you'; Onkelos, 'For Y. your God, his word (*memreh*) fights for you'; cf. Deut. 1, 30. An interesting class of passages which seem to fall into the same category are those in which God promises to be with some one, or it is said that he was with some one. Thus in Exod. 3, 12, God says to Moses, 'I will be with thee'; Onkelos, 'My word (*memri*) will be in thy support.'²⁰ So in Gen. 21, 20, 'God will be with the lad' (Ishmael); Onkelos, 'the *memra* of Y. will be in the support of the lad.'²¹ In such passages *memra* is probably the effective word which gives victory or protection with no need of such personal intervention as the phraseology of the original suggests. So also in punishment, e.g. Deut. 18, 19, Onkelos,

'the man who does not receive (obey) my word (*pitgami*) which he (the prophet) shall speak in my name, my word (*memri*, Heb. 'I') will demand satisfaction of him.' Compare also Deut. 4, 24, 'The Lord our God is a devouring fire'; 'Y. our God, his word (*memreh*) is a devouring fire'; cf. Deut. 9, 3.

Cognate in a measure to these are passages in which *memra* is put for the protecting 'hand' of God. Thus Exod. 38, 22, God says to Moses, 'I will cover my hand over thee till I have passed by'; Onkelos, 'I will extend protection by my word over thee.' The command of God, his expressed will, suffices for protection.²² So also Num. 11, 23, 'Is the Lord's hand become short?' so that he is unable to provide food for the vast host of Israelites in the desert, as Moses in the preceding speech seems to imply; Onkelos, 'Is the word (*memra*, fiat) of God restrained,' hindered from effecting his purpose? With this compare the rendering of the same figure in Targum Isa. 50, 21, 'Is my might (*geburathi*) shrunken?' See also 59, 1.

Finally, attention should be directed to the introduction of *memra* when God speaks of a covenant between himself and men. Thus Gen. 9, 12, 'This is the sign of the covenant which I make between Me and you'; the Targum, 'between my word (*ben memri*) and you' (cf. vss. 13, 15, 16, 17); 17, 7, 'I establish my covenant between my word and thee' (cf. 17, 10); see also Exod. 31, 13, 17; Lev. 26, 46. Here 'the word' seems to serve only the purpose of a buffer, to avoid the impression that God enters into a covenant with men, so to speak, on equal terms. In so far as the promise or the requirement that is the subject of the covenant is expressed in the context, it is a not inappropriate buffer.

A different explanation is given by Maybaum, who regards *memri* in these cases, and in many of those adduced above under other heads, as equivalent to a reflexive pronoun, 'myself.' That *memar* was used in this way, especially in the late Targums on the Hagiographa, was remarked long ago by Buxtorf, who cites from a haggadic amplification in Targ. Ruth 3, 8: 'Paltiel bar Laish (2 Sam. 3, 15) was a pious man, who stuck a sword between himself (*ben memreh*) and Michal'; and adds 'Sic de Deo saepissime.' Similarly the Targum on

Job 7, 8, 'Thine eyes are upon me (*memri*, my person), and I am gone.' Other examples are cited by Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae*, on John 1, 1. Maybaum quotes from the so-called Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel on Gen. 9, 17: 'This is the sign of the covenant which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth'; Jonathan, *ben memri uben memar kol bisra*, 'between myself (my person, we might say) and the person of every man.' The one known manuscript of this Targum²³ agrees with the printed editions in reading thus; but the expression is unparalleled, so that Ginsburger's suspicion of a blunder by a copyist does not seem an excess of scepticism. In any case an isolated phrase in this Targum is no key to the usage of the older Targums with which we are here concerned. Undoubtedly, if we had to translate idiomatically many of the passages in which *memra* is used, we should say 'myself, himself,' and the like; but inasmuch as the whole motive of the paraphrase is to avoid bringing God 'himself' into such immediate relation to the act or circumstance, it can hardly be supposed that the translator deliberately introduced a word which would be understood by his hearers to emphasize the relation. If he did not like to say simply that God did so and so, he would be still less inclined to say that God *himself* did it.

We have now surveyed the various uses of *memra* in the Targums on the Pentateuch and the Prophets. Instances might be multiplied under almost all the heads specified, but no class of cases has been passed over. Most of the uses of the word are easily explicable in their contexts in the light of the ends and methods of the synagogue interpretation. If analogy, or some subtlety of interpretation that escapes us, has sometimes introduced it on less obvious occasions, these are exceptions which need cause us neither surprise nor perplexity. The inquiry must set out from the common and plain uses; and our conclusions must be drawn from them, not from the residuum, if there be such, of unexplained occurrences. Proceeding in this way we find that God's *memra*²⁴ has sometimes the connotation of command — we might in imitation of the etymology say 'edict' — the expression of his will which is an effective force in nature and providence; sometimes it might

best be translated 'oracle,' the revelation of his will or purpose (not, however, a specific word of prophecy); sometimes it is the resolution of a metaphor for God's power, his protection, and the like. In many instances it is clearly introduced as a verbal buffer — one of many such in the Targums²⁶ — to keep God from seeming to come to too close quarters with men and things; but it is always a buffer-word, not a buffer-idea; still less a buffer-person.

This would come out still more plainly if it were possible here to direct special attention to the singular phraseology of many of the passages in which *memra* comes in as a euphemism or as what I have called a buffer. In the context the translator habitually keeps as close as possible to the original, without adapting it to the new situation he has created by the introduction of his *memra*, and the result is often awkward and unidiomatic. It may be surmised that, as in the case of similar euphemisms and buffers introduced into the Hebrew text itself or the masoretic punctuation, the Targumists intentionally left the matter so that readers or hearers educated in the Scriptures would recognize the original expression or meaning through the veil cast over it. Such phenomena cannot, however, be exhibited in translation — in the translations above they are indeed frequently effaced in the interest of intelligible English — nor would they, even with explanation, show what they are except to readers familiar with both unsophisticated Aramaic diction and idiom and with the peculiarities of the translation-Aramaic of the Targums. To such readers, however, these phenomena must be among the most convincing evidence of the real character and motive of the *memra* passages.

The sum of the whole matter is that nowhere in these Targums is *memra* a 'being' of any kind or in any sense, whether conceived personally as an angel employed in communication with men, or as a philosophically impersonal created potency, as in Maimonides' theory; or God himself in certain modes of self-manifestation, which has been thought to be the opinion of R. Moses ben Nahman. The appearance of personality which in many places attaches to the *memra* is due solely to the fact that the phrase 'the *memra* of Y.,' or, with pronouns

referring to God, My, Thy, His, *memra*, is a circumlocution for 'God,' 'the Lord,' or the like, introduced out of motives of reverence precisely where God is personally active in the affairs of men; and the personal character of this activity necessarily adheres to the periphrasis. The very question whether the *memra* is personal or impersonal implies, from the philological point of view, a misunderstanding of the whole phenomenon; and every answer to a false question is by that very fact false.

These conclusions are strongly confirmed by the fact that *memra* is found only in the Targums; not in such Aramaic texts as are preserved in the Midrashim, nor in the voluminous Aramaic parts of the Talmuds, nor, so far as I am aware, in the Zohar. In other words, it is a phenomenon of translation, not a creature of speculation.²⁶

The error is magnified to immensity when *memra* is connected with the Logos of Philo, whether it be supposed, as by Gfroerer, that the Palestinian mystical theology represented in the Targums (!) borrowed its intermediary being, Memra, from the Logos of Alexandrian 'theosophy,' or, contrariwise, that the Logos was derived and developed by the Alexandrians from the Palestinian Memra. The former theory involves a complete misunderstanding of what the Targums are and what they were made for, as well as a misinterpretation of the *memra* in them; the latter, besides a similar misinterpretation of *memra* in the Targums, involves a fundamental misunderstanding of what the Logos is in Philo, and what it is for.

It has been pointed out above (page 45f.) that in the Targums *memra* is not the term employed where the 'word of the Lord' is the medium or instrumentality of revelation, and that it is not the creative word in the cosmogony of Genesis or reminiscences of it.²⁷ It is needless to add that is not the divine reason in the universe, nor the reason akin to the divine that is in every man. Since these things are exactly what the Logos is and does in Philo, the only *tertium comparationis* that would seem to be left is that the Greek *λογος* is often properly understood and translated 'word,' and that *memra* also is commonly so translated.

It is an error of equal dimensions, when, by association with the Christian doctrine of the Logos and by abuse of a technical term of Christian theology, the Memra is described as 'an hypostasis.' For the modern reader 'hypostasis' has no use or meaning except that which it acquired in the controversies of the third and fourth centuries over the ontological relation of the Logos-Son to the Father; and to employ this term, with its denotation and all its trinitarian connotations, of the supposed personal, or quasi-personal, 'Memra' of the Targums, is by implication to attribute to the rabbis corresponding metaphysical speculations on the nature of the Godhead. But of speculation on that subject there is no trace either in the exoteric teaching of Judaism or in anything we know of its esoteric, theosophic, adventures into the divine mysteries.

Another paraphrastic expression upon which for our present purpose it is unnecessary to dwell is *yekara*, 'glory, majesty'.²⁸ One example out of many must suffice. In Exod. 24, 10, Moses and his companions, with the seventy elders of Israel, 'saw the God of Israel'; Onkelos, 'saw the glory (*yekar*) of the God of Israel.' The same interpretative periphrasis is used in Exod. 16, 17; Isa. 6, 1. Similarly, Gen. 17, 22, God ascended from Abraham; 'The glory of God ascended.' Exod. 20, 17, God has come to prove you; 'The glory of Y. has appeared to you.'²⁹

Shekinah is another such word, properly Hebrew, but used in the Aramaic of the Targums as a borrowed word with Aramaic endings. The large part it has played in Christian discussion renders a brief statement of the usage necessary. Its origin and primitive significance are best seen where it paraphrases the verb (*shakan*; 'dwell, reside, abide') from which it is derived. Thus in Exod. 25, 8 God says, 'Let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them'; the Targum has it, 'I will cause my presence (*shekinti*) to abide (or reside) among them.' Exod. 34, 6, 'And the Lord passed before him'; Targum, 'The Lord caused his presence (*shekinteh*) to pass before him.' In general, when God is said to be in a place or among his people, Onkelos makes it 'his presence' there; in

Deut. 12, 5; 11, 21, it is 'his presence' not 'his name' that God causes to abide in the place he chooses for a sanctuary. Contrariwise, when he leaves a place, he 'causes his presence to ascend' (to heaven, and depart from men); Hos, 5, 6; etc. Deut. 32, 19.

While *memra*, as has been observed above, is found only in the Targums, *shekinah* is very common in the Talmud and Midrash also. Often it is a mere metonymy for 'God,' as when R. Jose ben Halafta says: 'Never did the Presence (*shekinah*) descend to earth, nor did Moses and Elijah ascend to heaven; for it is written the heavens are the Lord's heavens, and the earth he has given to the children of men' (Psalm 115, 16).³⁰ Inasmuch as the same Rabbi elsewhere says that God is not in any place, perhaps this is his meaning here. It has also been suggested that the words are meant by inference to contradict Christian teaching on the incarnation and the resurrection (Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, II, 185). In the parallel in the Mekilta, *kabod*, 'glory,' is used where the Talmud has *shekinah*. The doctrine of R. Jose seemed so paradoxical in the face of such explicit texts as Exod. 19, 20; Zech. 14, 4, on the one hand, and Exod. 19, 3; 2 Kings 2, 11, on the other, that some ingenuity had to be exercised to save it.

Where the omnipresence of God is asserted, the word used is 'the Presence' (*shekinah*). The Lord was revealed in the thorn bush to teach that there is no place on earth void of the Presence; it is the Presence which, like the sea flooding the cave, filled the tabernacle with its radiance, while the world outside was no less full of it. Successive sins of mankind beginning with Adam caused the Presence to be taken up from earth and from one heaven to another to the seventh and most remote; a succession of righteous men from Abraham to Moses brought it down again, stage by stage, to earth once more.³¹ In a later work ten descents of the Presence to the world are enumerated, from the first in the Garden of Eden to the last, still future, in the days of Gog and Magog; the Scripture proofs alleged are all verses in which God or (the Lord) comes down to earth (Gen. 11, 5, etc.), or is upon the earth, as in Gen. 3, 8; Zech. 14, 4.³²

In a special sense God dwelt in the tabernacle and later in

the temple. When he took up his abode in them a cloud enveloped the tabernacle, or filled the temple, and thus veiled the glory of the Lord, too deadly bright for mortal eyes, which filled them.³³ The association of the presence of God with a manifestation of his glory and of the latter with light led to the conception of the Presence (*shekinah*) as light.

All worship demands a *praesens numen*, and however men may entertain the idea of the omnipresence of God, they find it difficult to realize his specific presence in the particular place where they gather for religious service without some aid to faith or imagination. This is the origin and meaning of the teaching that wherever ten men (the quorum of the synagogue) are met for prayer, there is the Presence.³⁴ How many 'Presences' are there then? a caviller asked. R. Gamaliel (II) answered by asking a slave, How does the sun get into that man's house? The sun shines, he replied, on all the world. If the sun, one of the millions of suns that are before the blessed God, shines on all the earth, how much more the Presence of God! (Sanhedrin 39a.)

R. Isaac, a pupil of Johanan and a favorite homilist of the third century, says: 'Whenever Israelites prolong their stay in the synagogues and schools, God makes his Presence stay with them.'³⁵ The following is also handed down from Isaac: 'Whence do we learn that God is found in the synagogue building?' Because it is said, 'God standeth in the congregation of God' (Psalm 82, 1). And whence that when ten are praying together the Presence is with them? Because it is said, 'God standeth in the congregation of God' (*ibid.*).³⁶ And whence that when three are sitting as judges the Presence is with them? Because it is written, 'In the midst of the judges (*elohim*) he will judge' (Psalm 82, 1b). And whence that when two are sitting and studying the Law the Presence is with them? Because it is written, 'Then those who fear the Lord spoke one to the other, and the Lord hearkened and heard,' etc. (Mal. 3, 16). And whence that even when one is sitting and studying the Law the Presence is with him? Because it is written, 'In every place where I cause mention to be made of my name, I will come unto thee and bless thee' (Exod. 20, 21).³⁷

In all these cases the Presence (*shekinah*) is not something that takes the place of God, but a more reverent way of saying 'God.' Similarly Christians speak of God's being present in their religious assemblies or of the presence of the Holy Spirit, without intending any difference of meaning, notwithstanding the personality of the Holy Spirit, and indeed without reflection at all. This use of the phrase 'the Holy Spirit,' ultimately derived from the Old Testament, was, it should be remembered, long established in Christian speech and literature before the dawn of hypostatic speculations.

In Jewish literature, also, 'the Holy Spirit' frequently occurs in connections in which 'the Presence' is elsewhere employed, without any apparent difference of meaning; but the fact that the words are within a certain range interchangeable is far from warranting the inference that the *shekinah* and the *ruh ha-qodesh* were identified in thought. Thus it is said in the Tanhuma (ed. Buber, Shemoth 10, f. 3a) that until the temple was destroyed the *shekinah* was placed in the temple ('The Lord is in his holy temple,' Psalm 11, 4); after the destruction of the temple, the *shekinah* ascended to heaven ('The Lord, in heaven is his throne,' *ibid.*). With this compare Koheleth Rabbah on Eccl. 12, 7 (end): 'When Jeremiah saw that Jerusalem was destroyed, and the temple burned, and Israel gone into exile, and the Holy Spirit taken up,' etc. The interchange is especially frequent in reference to persons to whom the Spirit or the Presence comes, or on whom it rests. A good example is Tos. Sotah 13, 3 compared with Bab. Sotah 48b; Sanhedrin 11a. In the former the voice from heaven declares that one of the company is worthy to have the Holy Spirit rest upon him; the Talmud has 'the *shekinah*.' On the other hand, revelation, or inspiration, the chief function of the Holy Spirit in Judaism, is, so far as I know, never attributed to the Presence (*shekinah*). Among the five things which were in the first temple but were lacking in the second, Yoma 21b includes both the Shekinah and the Holy Spirit. This list is evidently padded and confused. What seems to be the soundest form of the tradition counts the five things: the fire (that was kindled from heaven), the ark, the priestly oracle (Urim and Thum-

mim), the anointing oil, and the Holy Spirit (the spirit of prophecy). So Jer. Taanith ii, 1, f. 65a; Jer. Makkoth ii, 7, f. 32a; cf. Jer. Horaioth iii, 2, f. 47c end. The 'Shekinah' in Bab. Yoma *l. c.* is intrusive, perhaps a doublet to the Holy Spirit. It does not seem to be found in any of the parallels in the Midrashim (Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah 8 (on verse 9); Tanhuma ed. Buber, Behealotka 11 (f. 25b, top); Bemidbar Rabbah 15, 10, etc.

Like *memra*, *shekinah* acquires what semblance of personality it has solely by being a circumlocution for God in contexts where personal states or actions are attributed to him.

NOTES. — I. MEMRA

1. The Targums were generally supposed to represent a traditional exegesis older than the Christian era.

2. For a single example, M. Kähler, 'Christologie, Schriftlehre,' Protestantische Real-Encyclopaedie, 3 ed. iv, 7: Eigentümlich ist dem nachkanonischen Judentum die Umsetzung der anschaulichen Ausdrücke für das Walten Gottes in der Welt, namentlich auch seines offenbarenden Wirkens, in gewissermassen selbstständige Werkzeuge Gottes; das schöpferische und offenbarende Wort wird im Memra hypostasiert, die Gnadengegenwart Gottes bei seinem Volk in der Schechina; dazu kommt bei den Rabbinen noch der Metatron; alle diese Mittelwesen gleichen den Engeln und sind, wie auch der Geist Gottes, geschaffen.

3. 'Christian Writers on Judaism,' Vol. XIV (1921), pp. 227, 233, and elsewhere.

4. See L. Ginzberg, 'Anthropomorphism,' Jewish Encyclopedia I, 621-625, and the literature there noted.

5. Moreh Nebukim, Part i, cc. 27-28.

6. Nor created *ad hoc*. All miraculous events that occur at a given moment of time seemingly at variance with the order of nature were really constituted part of that order at the creation of the world. 'The Eight Chapters,' c. 8 (ed. J. I. Gorfinkle, New York, 1912, p. 46, and *ibid.* translation, pp. 90 f., with the references there given in a note); Maimonides, Commentary on Mishnah, Aboth 5, 6; Moreh, Part ii, c. 29. Cf. Munk, Le Guide des Egarés, I, p. 296 n.

7. For brevity and simplicity I have restricted myself to examples from Onkelos and the Targums on the Prophets, which had an authority not conceded to the rest. Whatever peculiarities the Palestinian Targums present, Ginsburger's investigation proves that in them also there is no personification of *memra* or *shekinta*, to say nothing of 'hypostasis.' In the transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic I have not marked the quantity of the vowels. Readers who know the language do not need this assistance any more than in Latin; those who do not will be none the wiser for it.

8. 'In the Targums anthropomorphic expressions are put aside altogether.' Oesterley and Box, Religion and Worship of the Synagogue, p. 153.

9. In translating from the Targums, I employ 'Y.' where they have the customary abbreviation for the name.

10. *Milla* sometimes stands in the Palestinian Targums where Onkelos has *pitgama*. The variation has no significance.

11. 'The *memra* of Y. said,' and the like, occurs only in Palestinian Targums, and apparently with especial frequency in the Fragmentary Targum. See Ginsburger, p. 267f.

12. See below, p. 54.

13. מרד את פי יהוה. English versions often, 'rebel against the commandment of the Lord.'

14. See also 1 Sam. 12, 14, 15; 1 Kings 13, 21, 26, etc.

15. עבר את פי יהוה.

16. Num. 22, 18; 24, 13; 1 Sam. 15, 24, etc. For the expression cf. the Targum on Isa. 40, 5; 58, 14, 'for by the edict (*memra*) of Y. it is thus decreed' (*gesir ken*). See also Num. 14, 35.

17. כָּעֵל, דָּכַר ב', כָּאֵם.

18. Compare the shifts of the Greek and Latin versions in Exod. 3, 18 and 5, 3. They translate קָרָא, 'call.'

19. From motives of reverence Onkelos uses this verb for the oath of God; when men swear he employs the usual Aramaic verb.

20. כְּסֵעָךְ, with a buffer preposition.

21. See also Gen. 21, 22, 23; 26, 28; 28, 20; 31, 5, 42; 39, 21, 23, etc.

22. A more drastic figure is similarly paraphrased in Ezek. 16, 8, 'I spread my skirt over thee'; Targum, 'I extended protection by my word (*memri*) over thee.'

23. Edited by M. Ginsburger, Pseudo-Jonathan . . . nach der Londoner Handschrift (Brit. Mus. add. 27,031). Berlin, 1903.

24. It is to be observed that *memra* does not occur without a genitive — 'the word of the Lord,' 'my word,' etc., or a circumlocution for the genitive, 'a *memra* from before the Lord.' 'The *Memra*,' 'the Word,' is not found in the Targums, notwithstanding all that is written about it by authors who have not read them.

25. The commonest — and in many phrases awkwardest — of these is קָדַם, 'before, in front of.' For examples see Ginsburger, pp. 278–280, or the Lexicons.

26. For this reason alone the attempt to elucidate *memra* by the *dibbur* of the Midrash is out of place, even if the usage of *dibbur* were not misstated.

27. Consequently, the theory that derives the Logos-Word of John 1, 1–5 straight from the Palestinian *memra* is fallacious.

28. *Yekar* is elsewhere the ordinary translation of the Hebrew *kabod*, in Greek δόξα.

29. For other examples, see Maybaum, p. 49 f, Ginsburger, p. 277 f. In similar cases Onkelos sometimes has *memra*, sometimes *shekintia*.

30. Bar. Sukkah 5a (top); cf. Mekilta on Exod. 19, 20 (ed. Friedmann f. 65b).

31. Bereshit Rabbah 19, 7 and parallels.

32. Aboth de-R. Nathan 34, 5.

33. Exod. 29, 34 f., 1 Kings 8, 10 f., cf. Isa. 6, 1–4.

34. Sanhedrin 39a.

35. Pesikta ed. Buber, Shemini Asereth, f. 193a–b; Pesikta Rabbathi ed. Friedmann (Supplement), f. 202b. For the exegetical derivation see the editors' notes, and Bacher, Agada der paläst. Amoräer II, 220 f. n. To the same homilist Song of Songs 2, 8 f. suggests God's springing from synagogue to synagogue and from school to school to bless the Israelites (Pesikta Rabbathi, f. 72a; less complete text, Pesikta ed. Buber f. 48b).

36. אֱלֹהִים נֹצֵר בְּעֵרָת אֵל. In the first deduction אֵל עֵרָת is taken in the sense of אֵל כְּתוּרָה in Psalm 74, 8; the second takes עֵרָת as 'congregation,' which consists of at least ten men (general rule based on Num. 14, 27). See Bacher, Agada der paläst. Amoräer II, 221.

37. Berakot 6a. On Exod. 20, 21 cf. Onkelos, 'In every place where I make my presence (*shekinti*) to rest, thither will I send my blessing unto thee and will bless thee.'

II. METATRON

In the foregoing there is nothing novel either in the facts or the conclusions, and the only reason for working over the ground again and presenting the results here is that the scholars whom it most concerns to know about the subject almost universally ignore the previous investigations, and are content to take their facts and opinions directly or indirectly from Gfroerer and Weber. In the case of Metatron, on the other hand, there appeared to be room for a new philological and historical study of the whole problem, such as will occupy the rest of this article.

Christian attention was first directed to Metatron by cabalistic studies, and it was from the Cabala and commentators who interpreted the Old Testament in the spirit and sense of the Cabala that Christian theologians got the notions about him with which subsequent investigation has generally set out. Metatron was for them an angel of the highest order, or a mysterious being of higher than angelic rank, who was in a peculiar sense a mediator and intercessor with God. Hermann Witsius (d. 1708) was tempted to surmise that even the name Metatron itself might be a deflected form of the Latin *mediator*, 'nam qui Mediatoris sunt, ea huic Angelo adtribuere solent.'¹ If, instead of starting with cabalistic mysteries, or mystifications, the investigation begins at the other end, there will be a better prospect of finding out who or what manner of thing Metatron was.

The oldest occurrence of the word is in Sifrè on Deut. 32, 49 (§ 338), that is, in a Palestinian work the final redaction of which falls early in the third century, but which in this part is a Midrash of the school of Ishmael three quarters of a century earlier.² Moses is bidden to ascend Mount Nebo in the land of Moab opposite Jericho, 'and see the land of Canaan, which I am going to give the Israelites as a possession.' On this R. Eliezer comments: 'With his finger he (God) was a *metaṭron* to Moses³ and showed him the whole land of Israel; so far the boundaries of Ephraim; so far the boundaries of Manasseh.'⁴ According to R. Joshua, Moses saw it for himself; God gave

him such powerful eyesight that he saw from one end of the world to the other.⁵ The word *meṭaṭron* was explained by R. Moses ben Naḥman and Eshtori Parḥi as 'one who shows the way,' a guide, and a corresponding gloss has found its way into the text of Sifrè.⁶

Another occurrence in a Palestinian Midrash is in Bereshith Rabbah 5, 4 (on Gen. 1, 9): 'R. Levi said, Some interpreters interpret with Ben Azzai and Ben Zoma,⁷ that the voice of God was made a *meṭaṭron*⁸ over the waters, according to the words, 'The voice of the Lord was over the waters' (Psalm 29, 3). The question, as appears from the preceding context, was how the waters found their way into the ocean when God gathered them together in one place; the answer, The voice of the Lord guided them. The interpretation of Ben Azzai is cited (independently of Bereshith Rabbah) by R. Berechiah in Midrash Tehillim on Psalm 93, 3 (§ 5, end); 'The voice of God was a *meṭaṭor* before them.' The Aruk⁹ quotes from Midrash Yelammedenu on Deut. 2, 31 (Behold I have begun to deliver Sihon and his land before thee): 'If that gives thee concern, I am thy *meṭaṭor*. Do not wonder at these words; am I not hereafter going to be made a *meṭaṭor* before an uncircumcised man, Cyrus, as it is written, 'I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight,' etc. (Isa. 45, 2); I am going to go before a woman, before Deborah and Barak, as it is said, 'Is not the Lord gone out before thee' (Judges 4, 14).

Besides this passage, which is not preserved in our recensions of the Midrash Tanḥuma, the Aruk cites in this sense, from the same source at the end of the Parashah Ki Tissa (on Exod. 34, 27), where, in answer to the intercession of Moses for the people after the sin of the golden calf, God recounts his ill-requited goodness to Israel: 'And not only that, but in the desert I go before them as *meṭaṭor*—'The Lord goeth before them by day' (Exod. 13, 21)—levelling down for them the heights and levelling up the depressions' (cf. Isa. 40, 3 f.).¹⁰ In the same sense, and with the same Scripture reference, we find in a later Midrash on Exod. 23, 20, 'Behold, I send an angel,' etc.:¹¹ 'God said to Israel, When you were worthy of it, I myself was made a messenger (*shaliḥ*) for you, as I did for you in the

desert, as it is said, The Lord went before them by day (Exod. 13, 21); but now that ye are not worthy, I turn you over to a messenger (*shalih*), as it is said, Behold, I send an angel,' etc. (Exod. 23, 20.).¹² At the plea of Moses (Exod. 33, 12 ff.), however, the captain (*sar*, cf. Josh. 5, 4, and below, p. 65) did not actually assume authority over them till the death of Moses. Here God going before Israel in the desert is called *shalih*, precisely as in the passage first quoted from the Tanhuma (Yelammedenu) he is called *meṭaṭor*; the two words are equivalent in sense. A third example given in the Aruk, also from Yelammedenu, is from the Parashah Balak (on Num. 22, 36: Balak heard that Balaam was come), 'Showing that they had sent *meṭaṭorin* (plur.) before him.'¹³ From these passages R. Nathan gathers that the idea in *meṭaṭor* is, 'preceding, going on before.'¹⁴ The substitution in our texts of the Tanhuma on Num. 1. c. of *sheluhim* (lit., persons sent on a mission or with a message, the Hebrew word represented in the New Testament by *ἀπόστολος*) is a correct interpretation from the context. In all the passages thus far cited *meṭaṭron* or *meṭaṭor* — the forms interchange in parallels and variants — is an appellative; and except in the last it is God himself (or his finger or his voice) that is the *meṭaṭron* or *meṭaṭor*. In all the context requires some such general sense as 'one who leads or shows the way, one who goes in advance.'¹⁵

In the Babylonian Talmud *Meṭaṭron* is an angel. The passages in which he appears are few, and it will not take us too far to examine them all. In the first of these (Sanhedrin 38b) R. Naḥman (ben Isaac) narrates a controversy between R. Idi (probably a Palestinian teacher of that name in the latter part of the fourth century) and a heretic (*min*), as an example of the right way to answer such cavils. The heretic quoted Exod. 24, 1, 'And to Moses he said, Ascend unto the Lord,' etc. Why not, Ascend unto Me? The Rabbi replied: It means *Meṭaṭron*,¹⁶ whose name is like the name of his master,¹⁷ as the Scripture says, 'for My name is in him.' 'If that is so, you should worship him.'¹⁸ 'It is written, Do not exchange me for him.' 'What does it mean then by the words, 'He will not pardon your transgression?''¹⁹ 'In solemn truth! we did not

accept him even as a precursor,²⁰ for it is written, 'And he (Moses) said to Him, If Thy presence (פניך) go not (with us), lead us not up hence' (Exod. 33, 15). *Meṭaṭron* is here identified with the angel whom God proposed to send before the Israelites to watch over and protect them in the desert and lead them to the place God had prepared for them (Exod. 23, 1-4; 32, 34), but whose offices Moses declined — unless God personally accompanied the expedition, he was unwilling to set out on it. That Moses did thus refuse to set out under the conduct of an angel is deduced in the *Tanḥuma* from the same texts. The same angel was later sent to Joshua (Josh. 5, 13 ff.); he announces himself as the captain of the Lord's host (ibid. vs. 14), and says: 'Twice have I come to bring Israel into its inheritance. It was I who came in the days of Moses thy master, and he rejected me, and was not willing that I should go; now I am come again.'²¹ Substantially the same is repeated in later compilations;²² see also *Bereshith Rabbah* 97, 3.

From this survey of the usage of *meṭaṭor* and *meṭaṭron* we may proceed to the question of etymology. That מַטְטֹר is nothing but the Latin word *metator* written in Hebrew letters was recognized long ago by both Jewish and Christian scholars, and *meṭaṭron* was rightly taken to be only another form of the same word.²³ Thus R. Moses ben Naḥman (d. ca. 1270), in his latest and greatest work, the commentary on the Pentateuch, on Exod. 12, 12, identifies the envoy (*shaliḥ*) from God to accomplish all that God did in the land of Canaan, with 'the great angel who on that account (*sc.* as being an envoy) is called *meṭaṭron*; for the meaning of the latter word is 'one who shows the way,' as we read in *Sifrè*, (*etc.* adducing the passages from *Sifrè* and *Yelammedenu* quoted above), and so in many places. And I have heard that 'messenger' in Latin is *metator*.'²⁴ The same derivation is given by Elias Levita in his glossary entitled 'Tisbe' (1542): 'I have heard from the cardinal, my pupil,²⁵ that *metator* in Latin is a messenger (*shaliḥ*), and this is perhaps the explanation.' More exactly, Benjamin Mussafia, in a supplementary note to the article in the *Aruk* (ed. Amsterdam, 1655), from his own knowl-

edge of Latin, writes: '*Metator* in Latin is an officer who goes in advance of an army to select for the soldiers a halting place and quarters for the night.' Similarly another learned lexicographer, David Cohen de Lara, in his '*Ir David*,'²⁶ a glossary of the foreign words found in rabbinical writings. He defines *metator* in Hebrew and Latin as a military 'quarter-master' (its meaning in Roman law), and adds the Spanish equivalent, '*aposentador*.'

This was also the common opinion of the learned among Christians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The most complete exposition of this, with an almost exhaustive array of the evidence, is given by Danz, where also other theories are discussed.²⁷

Danz presented at length the use and meaning of *metator* in Latin.²⁸ Thus Vegetius gives the military definition: '*Metator dicitur, qui praecedens locum castris deligit*.' Another writer on the military art describes *metatores* as '*Antegestores, qui ante agmen eunt, et loca castris metandis idonea deligunt, et viam, qua duci exercitus commode possit, vident*.' From Christian authors²⁹ are quoted Optatus, *Contra Donatistas*, iii: *Cum ante venturos milites metatores, ut fieri adsolet, mitterentur*. Cyprian, *Epist.* 6, 4, exhorts his readers to follow the courageous example of the presbyter and confessor Rogatianus, *qui . . . primum hospitium in carcere praeparavit et metator quodammodo vester nunc quoque vos antecedit*. See also Cyprian, *Epist.* 22, 1: *Nam tu Deo volente ipsum anguem majorem metatorem Antichristi . . . deteruisiti*. Ambrose, *Exameron* v, 10: *Quis imperator piscibus praeceptum dedit, quis doctor hanc tribuit disciplinam, qui metatores itinera disponunt, qui duces iter dirigunt, ut nullius desit occursus?*³¹

Metator thus had an evolution closely parallel to the English 'harbinger';³² 'One sent on before to purvey lodgings for an army, a royal train, etc.; . . . a pioneer who prepares the way. One that goes before and announces the approach of some one; a forerunner.'³³ And if 'harbinger' were not in modern English so bookish and so predominatingly figurative, it would be the best rendering for the Hebrew *meṭaṭor*, *meṭaṭron*.

The latest authors to deal with the subject at length, Oesterley and Box, 'cannot agree with the writer on this subject in the Jewish Encyclopedia [Ludwig Blau] when he says that 'the derivation from the Latin *metator* (= 'guide') is doubtless correct.' They have two objections: *First*, it is Elisha ben Abuyah who first refers to Metatron under this name; the belief regarding Metatron must consequently have been much earlier than his time (first half of the second century); so early a date makes it improbable that the word is derived from the Latin, for Roman influence upon Jewish literature is not likely to have been strong enough to lead Jewish teachers to adopt a Latin word; a Latin derivation is all the less likely because the word first occurs in the Babylonian Talmud. *Second*, in Latin *metator* means 'divider,' or 'measurer,'³⁴ not 'guide.' 'It would be difficult to point to any instance of the Latin word being used in this sense.' As regards the latter point it is sufficient to refer to the 'instances' quoted above, which are not 'difficult to point to,' inasmuch as since the end of the seventeenth century they, with others, e.g. from the codes and the civil lawyers, have stood in the dictionary to which a scholar would first go with such a question, and are all cited in full by Danz. The first objection is equally baseless. That 'it is Elisha ben Abuyah who first refers to Metatron under this name,' is a complication of errors.³⁵ The story about the origin of Elisha's heresy will be discussed later. Suffice it here to say that in that story Elisha does not 'refer to Metatron under this name' at all. That the occurrence of the word in a Babylonian story of uncertain date *about* Elisha is proof that the word and idea were current in the age and environment of the hero of the story³⁶ is a kind of inference that might have curious results: for example, the translated Enoch is called Metatron, therefore the word and the idea are older than the flood. And finally, the probability or improbability of Latin words having found their way into rabbinical Hebrew or the vernacular Aramaic is not to be decided by what the authors deem antecedently probable, but by reading the literature; in default of which the special glossaries to words borrowed from Greek and Latin might profitably be consulted — Krauss,

for example. In the particular case before us it should be observed that from the time of the Roman occupation of Syria Latin military terms — and such *metator* is — for which there was no exact equivalent in Hebrew or Aramaic were adopted with especial frequency. The authors must have forgotten that in the Gospels not only Jesus but the poor demoniac use the Latin *legio*.

The derivation from the Latin *metator* did not yield a sense that seemed adequate to the rank and functions of Metatron in mystical and cabalistic writings; and, assuming that the name must have been coined to express his exalted station in that literature, scholars sought for etymologies corresponding to their interpretation of the figure.³⁷

In cabalistic vein R. Bahya ben Asher (Behai) in his commentary on Exod. 23, 21,³⁸ finds in the word Metatron two meanings, 'lord' and 'messenger,' deriving the former from the rabbinical (really Latin) *matrona*³⁹ and the latter from the Greek, in which a messenger is called *mentator* (sic!).⁴⁰ For good measure, he offers a third derivation for a piece of the word: *maṣrat* stands in the Targum for Hebrew *shemirah* ('keeping, protection'), 'and because he is the keeper of the world he is called the keeper of Israel.' By inverting the process, he deduces circularly from the etymology that Metatron is the lord of all beings of lower rank, for all the host above and below are in his authority and under his power; and he is an envoy (messenger) of Him who is over him, and higher than he is He who gave him dominion over the universe and appointed him lord of His house and manager of all His possessions (cf. Gen. 24, 2). The 𐤌𐤒 in the middle of his name are numerically 18, and thus equivalent to 𐤌 ('living'). It is no wonder that Christian scholars found in Bahya's Metatron all they were looking for.

The etymology which in recent times has enjoyed the most approbation derives the name from *μετά* and *θρόνος*. The merit — whatever it is — of being the inventor of this pun is frequently attributed to some modern who has repeated it without due credit to his predecessors.⁴¹ The first to propose it, so far as I know, was J. H. Maius, Professor at Giessen, in

his *Synopsis Theologiae Judaicae* (1698), p. 72. He submits it to the judgment of the learned as a modest conjecture, 'an non commodius longe ac vulgo fit (*sc.* from *metator*) ex Graecis vocibus *μετά* et *θρόνον* deduci queat, ut innuatur Angelus *σύνθρονος* Dei, seu ejusdem throni, majestatis et gloriae cum Deo Patre participi,' etc. Hengstenberg⁴² cites Maius, and, of more recent authors, Joh. Fried. Meyer, 'Blätter für höhere Wahrheit' (Sammlung iv (1822), p. 168).⁴³ Hengstenberg rejects the derivation for the very good reason that *μετάθρονος* is not even a Greek word. Gfroerer, however, into whose Alexandrian theosophy in Palestine such a divine assessor fitted as well as into the old orthodoxy, and who was not deterred by philological scruples, accepted the etymology; Metatron is the being who is *μετά τὸν θρόνον θεοῦ*. Inasmuch as the rabbis adopted into their vocabulary both *πάρεδρος* and *συγκάθεδρος*, and if these did not satisfy them, could as easily have borrowed *σύνθρονος*, it is not clear why they should have taken the trouble to invent *μετάθρονος*. Modern authors who maintain this derivation are bound to attempt some explanation of the second *τ* in *metatron* — for Greek *theta* in that age we should expect Hebrew *tau*.

The last named difficulty is escaped by another etymological figment; *metatron* is *μετά + τύραννος* (*μετατύραννον*), a factitious word which is defined, 'one who stands next in rank to the ruler.'⁴⁴ It is a further objection — if any other is needed — that in Hebrew the borrowed words *τύραννος*, *τυραννία* seem to be uniformly spelled מִיִּר.

Another etymology, about the priority in which there seems to be some rivalry, discovers in מִיִּטְרוֹן (pronounce, Mittron) the name of the god Mithra. Its most notable advocate was Alexander Kohut.⁴⁵ Hamburger (*Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, II, 781) enumerates several predecessors, beginning with Fried. Nork,⁴⁶ 'Brahminen und Rabbinen,' 1836. The honor seems to belong, however, to a Christian scholar, Heinrich Ed. Schmieder, who propounded the theory in an excursus to his 'Nova Interpretatio loci Paulini Galat. iii. 19-20' (1826; pp. 41-48).⁴⁷ Schmieder briefly recites and despatches the older attempts on the word as he found them

in Danz, as well as Meyer's *μετάθρονος*, and then proposes his own solution: Mittron or Mettron is Mithras. He tries to show that the Jews were capable of disguising the name in so remarkable a manner — which, in view of other achievements, can not be unqualifiedly denied — but is chiefly moved by the remarkable agreement he finds between the character and functions of Mithras and the Jewish 'Mittron,' dwelling particularly, as might be expected, on Mithras as *μεσίτης*,⁴⁸ 'mediator,' on which aspect of his nature Creuzer had expatiated. Schmieder then develops with considerable ingenuity the theory that these Persian doctrines were introduced and cultivated among the Jews by the Essenes, comparing the teachings and observances of the latter as described by Philo and Josephus with accounts of Persian customs.

Retracing our steps from this excursion into the vagaries of etymology, two passages in the Babylonian Talmud remain to be examined. One of these is the story about Elisha ben Abuyah to which allusion has already been made. A second century tradition (*baraita*) preserved in both Talmuds,⁴⁹ tells, in a few obscure words, of four eminent teachers of theosophical leanings in the generation before Hadrian — Ben Azzai, Ben Zoma, 'Aḥer' (Elisha ben Abuyah), and Akiba — who 'entered Paradise,'⁵⁰ and of the disastrous effect what they saw there had on the first three: one of them gazed and died; another gazed and was stricken with madness; Aḥer gazed and 'cut down the plants'; Akiba alone came off unscathed. The cryptic phrase, 'cut down the plants,' is explained in the Jerusalem Talmud as meaning that he visited the schools and persuaded youths to abandon the study of the law, and take to such trades as those of builders, carpenters, hunters, tailors. The 'plants' are thus the young scholars in the rabbinical seminaries. In the Babylonian Talmud a different story is told: 'Aḥer saw (in Paradise) Metatron, to whom permission had been given to be seated while he recorded the good deserts of Israelites. Whereupon Aḥer exclaimed, We have been taught that in heaven no one (except God) sits Can it be that there are two supreme powers!' Metatron was chastised with sixty lashes of fire⁵¹ for having given occasion for such an error by

not rising; he was directed to erase from the record the good deeds of Aher; and a heavenly voice was heard saying, 'Return (repent), ye apostate children (Jer. 3, 14) — except Aher!' ⁵²

The remaining mention of Metatron in the Babylonian Talmud is in Abodah Zarah 3b, according to which among God's regular occupations in heaven is to give religious instruction for three hours — the last quarter of the day — to children whose early death has deprived them of opportunity to study the Torah on earth.⁵³ If it be asked, Who teaches them in the earlier part of the day? it may be answered, Metatron. In both these places Metatron has a special office in heaven in relation to Israelites, the recorder of their good works, the teacher of children who died in infancy. These are offices that might be performed by any angel appointed to them, and there is nothing in either context to suggest that Metatron was a being of a different nature or one who stood in a peculiar relation to God; nor that he was in any sense a 'mediator' between God and Israel. An examination of these passages — the only places where the name occurs — shows that the beginnings of the Metatron mythology, if so it should be called, in the Babylonian Talmud are extremely modest.⁵⁴

A higher rank and larger functions are attributed to Metatron by recent writers on the subject on the ground of certain titles which are said to be given him. Thus Weber: 'In Hullin 60a and Yebamot 16b he bears the name שר העולם, Prince of the World; he represents God's sovereignty (*Herrscherstellung*) in the world.' Oesterley and Box, confidently following Weber, refer to 'two passages, one from the Babylonian and one from the Jerusalem Talmud, in which Metatron bears the title of Prince of the World; a title which more probably implies that he is the representative of God in the world.'⁵⁵ As I pointed out in a former article (Vol. XIV, p. 237), Weber apparently fell into his error by a careless reading of Levy, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch II, 231, who refers to the Tosafot on the two places cited, where is found, however, not an identification of the *sar ha-'olam* with Metatron, but a discussion of a difficulty which Rabbenu Tam (d. 1171) discovered in certain

inconsistent expressions about Metatron in two mediaeval synagogue hymns. The question is, how could Metatron, according to one of them the translated Enoch who from flesh was turned to fire, be the *sar ha-'olam* with whom the other seems to identify him, when according to Hullin *l.c.* the *sar ha-'olam* sounded the praises of God at the creation (Psalm 104, 31), generations before Enoch was born? The outcome does not concern us; the important thing is that if there had been any Talmudic authority for the identification of the *sar ha-'olam* with Metatron there would have been no room for the discussion. It may be observed also that in Sanhedrin 94a, *sar ha-'olam* is interpreted by Rashi simply as an angel to whom the whole world is committed, without any hint of identification. The Responsum quoted below (note 73) identifies the angel of Gen. 48, 16 and Isa. 63, 9 with Metatron 'whom the rabbis call the prince of the presence,' but makes no mention of the greater title, 'prince of the world.'

Sar ha-panim, a frequent title of Metatron in post-Talmudic literature, is most simply explained as a breviloquence, the prince, or chief, of the class who are called 'angels of the presence,' that is those who have immediate access to God's presence, like the principal ministers of a monarch who customarily attend in his presence. Cabalistic speculation, however, made it 'the prince who is the Presence' and taught that this is meant in Exod. 33, 14, 'My Presence shall go with thee'; so also in 'the angel of His Presence delivered them' — the angel who is His Presence.⁵⁷

Metator, Metatron, was, as has been shown, originally an appellative, in meaning and use corresponding closely to the English 'harbinger.' In the three places where it is found in the Babylonian Talmud it is the name of an angel. It is, however, a name of unusual type,⁵⁸ for the names of angels are generally compounds containing the word *el*, 'God,' after the pattern of the biblical Gabriel and Michael. It is therefore a pertinent question whether the angel who is designated in the Midrash by the appellative and named in the Talmud by the appropriated appellative — if it be the same angel — is one who is otherwise known to us under a proper name.

We have seen that R. Idi,⁵⁹ in his answer to the heretic, declares with emphasis that so far from worshipping Metatron, the Israelites would not accept him even as a 'precursor' when God offered to send him before them to guard them on their way and guide them to the place prepared for them (Exod. 23, 20). It was this angel, who after the death of Moses appeared to Joshua (Josh. 5, 13 ff.).⁶⁰ As 'the captain of the Lord's host,' he was identified by mediaeval commentators⁶¹ with Michael who is 'one of the chief princes,' 'your prince' (Dan. 10, 13, 21), 'the great prince' (*ibid.* 12, 1), the champion of the Jews.⁶² According to others, it was Michael who led the Israelites through the desert.

At an earlier point in the same discussion Rabbi Idi answers the question, Who is the subject in the words, 'Unto Moses he said, Ascend unto the Lord'? by saying, 'The speaker is Metatron, whose name is like the name of his master.' The same exegetical difficulty is discovered by the Palestinian Targum on Exod. 24, 1, and resolved: 'Unto Moses, Michael, the prince of wisdom, said, on the seventh day of the month, Go up before (into the presence of) the Lord.'⁶³ At the death of Moses, when God is lamenting his loss, asking who now will intercede for Israel when they sin, Metatron came and fell on his face, and said, Lord of the World, in his life Moses was Thine and in his death he is Thine.'⁶⁴ In the parallel narrative in Midrash Mishle, 'Michael came and prostrated himself before God, and said, Lord of the World, in his life he was Thine, and in his death he is Thine.'⁶⁵

Metatron appears in a somewhat similar rôle in one of the collections of proems, or introductions, for the use of synagogue preachers which are prefixed to the old Palestinian Midrash on Lamentations. God was mourning over the destruction of the temple; he had no longer a dwelling place on earth.⁶⁶ 'In that hour Metatron came and fell upon his face and said, 'Lord of the World, I will weep, but Thou shalt not weep.' God replied, 'If thou do not let me weep now I will enter into a place into which thou art not permitted to enter, and will weep (there), as it is written, 'If ye will not hear it, My soul shall weep in secret for your pride' (Jer. 13, 17).'⁶⁷

Even in late mystical texts the same functions are attributed to Metatron and to Michael. The most striking example of this is the presenting offerings in the celestial sanctuary. In the Talmud this is the office of Michael — 'Michael the great prince stands and offers upon the altar.'⁶⁸ In one recension of the Seder Gan Eden, a mediaeval work, we read that in the highest heaven (Araboth) the great prince Michael stands, with an altar before him, and offers upon the altar the souls of the righteous.⁶⁹ In another mediaeval Midrash this office is performed by Metatron. 'R. Simeon said, In the hour when God bade Israel to erect the tabernacle he made a sign to the ministering angels that they should make a tabernacle, and at the time when it was erected below, it was erected above.'⁷⁰ This is the tabernacle of the Youth whose name is Metatron in which he offers the souls of the righteous to atone for Israel in the days of their exile.'⁷¹

In various places, particularly in Palestinian sources, we thus find the name Michael where parallel passages have Metatron. In explanation of this fact the following hypothesis may be advanced. The word *meṭaṭor*, or *meṭaṭron*, as an appellative, meaning one who leads the way, was first used of God himself, particularly in reference to the migration of Israel from Egypt to Canaan, or of the angel whom he commissioned to guard and guide them in the way and bring them to their destination — whether it was thought that he actually led them through the desert, or that at Moses' petition his commission was suspended, so that he did not assume his leadership until after the death of Moses, when he announced himself to Joshua before Jericho as the captain of the Lord's host. If it was asked who this angel leader was, the inevitable answer would be Michael, the captain ('prince') whom God had appointed over his people, their champion and protector.⁷²

All the offices and function of the angel Metatron in the older sources, and even in the Babylonian Talmud, are such as might naturally be ascribed to the guardian angel of the Jews.⁷³ The Metatron whom Elisha ben Abuyah saw in heaven was sitting (by special privilege) and recording the good deserts of Israelites, an appropriate occupation for their special patron; and

no other angel could more appropriately share with God himself the task of instructing in religion the little souls whose early death had deprived them of human teachers. So again, when God would weep over the destruction of the temple, the words, 'I will weep, but do not thou weep,' have a fitness and a force in the mouth of the angel to whom Israel was committed as his peculiar charge; while they lack this point altogether if supposed to be spoken by some mythical associate divinity. Similarly, when God, bewailing the death of Moses, asks who now will stand between the people and His righteous indignation, it is most fitly the angelic advocate of Israel who reminds Him that Moses is still His; that is, I take it, that Moses may intercede for Israel in heaven as he had done on earth. Even in a late apocalyptic book, the *Sefer Zerubbabel*, Metatron says: 'I am the angel who led Abraham in all the land of Canaan; it was I who ransomed Isaac and wrestled with Jacob at the ford of Jabbok; and I that led Israel in the wilderness forty years in the name of the Lord; I who appeared to Joshua at Gilgal. I am he whose name is like the name of his master, and his name is in me.'⁷⁴ These are things that are regularly ascribed to Michael, and in the text itself the name Michael slips in for the angel who makes the revelation to Zerubbabel and is otherwise consistently called Metatron.⁷⁵ Metator was a foreign word; the precise technical meaning which so well suited the earlier contexts in which we find it used easily passed in ordinary apprehension into the vaguer sense of 'one who leads, or shows, the way,' which is current in Jewish commentators and lexicographers. In Babylonia especially, where Roman military terms were not familiar as they were in Palestine, it was naturally taken for a proper name instead of an appellative, the proper name of an angel; though even there the association with Michael was not wholly forgotten.⁷⁶

Detached from the original connection with the exodus, Metatron became more exclusively a celestial figure, such as he is in the story of Elisha ben Abuyah's fall, or when he is the teacher of children in the school of heaven. This is as far as the Babylonian Talmud goes. As *sar ha-panim* he is the chief of the 'angels of the presence' who have immediate access to

God. In the succeeding Gaonic period, however, there was a notable revival of curiosity about the mysteries of heaven and earth such as at a much earlier time gave origin to apocalypses like Enoch, with a corresponding recurrence to apocalyptic tours through the heavens under angelic conduct; and, as in the earlier time, with its mystery of creation and its chariot speculation, a theosophic motive enters into these adventures — it is one of the main sources of the older Cabala.

In this literature, which, characteristically enough, produced new Enoch books and descriptions by the mystical travellers of the heavens that rise one above another to the highest and the throne of God itself, with the angelic hierarchy that inhabits them, Metatron has a prominent place. It does not fall within the scope of our present investigation to accompany Metatron through this literature, much less to pursue him into the later Cabala. On one point, however, a word must be said. It has been argued above that the angel Metatron was originally Michael. In the writings now under consideration Metatron is commonly the translated Enoch.⁷⁷ What led to this identification can only be conjectured. The most probable hypothesis is perhaps that it originated in the occupation of Metatron in the story of Elisha ben Abuyah, where he appears as a recording angel;⁷⁸ for a similar function is attributed to Enoch in the Book of Jubilees 4, 23: 'He was taken away from among men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden (Paradise) with majesty and honor, and behold he writes there the judgment and the sentence upon the world, and all the evil deeds of mankind.'⁷⁹ So also Enoch (in heaven) is addressed, 'Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness' (Enoch 12, 4; 15, 1). To the same office the Palestinian Targum on Gen. 5, 24 probably refers: 'Enoch worshipped in truth before the Lord, and he was not found among the inhabitants of the earth, for he was rapt away and ascended to the firmament by the word of God, and his name was called Mitatron, the great scribe.'⁸⁰

Inasmuch as flesh and blood have no place in that upper world, God transformed Enoch's body into the fiery matter of which angels are made.⁸¹ He prepared him a throne just like

His own, covered with similar tapestry, and caused to be proclaimed that He had appointed him prince and chief of all the princes of His kingdom and all the celestial beings except the eight honored and revered princes who are called *Ihvh*, by His own eternal name. Every angel who has anything to communicate with God is to come to Metatron and speak to him, and whatever he bids them in God's name they shall observe and do, because he is the prince of wisdom and of intelligence, which minister to him and instruct him in heavenly and earthly wisdom, the wisdom of this world and the mystery of the world to come. He is also appointed over all of the temple on high, and over all the storehouses of life in the highest heavens. Metatron-Enoch has seventy names corresponding to the seventy languages of earth, but God himself calls him 'Youth' (נער).

This name, Youth, is explained by Metatron himself: it was given him by the ministering angels over whom he was set, because he was a junior among them and a youth (in comparison with the angels of the original creation).⁸² It is this late assumption into the angelic ranks that is urged in the Tosafot against the identification of Metatron-Enoch with the Talmudic *sar ha-'olam*.⁸³ If a modern conjecture, at variance with the explanation above put into the mouth of Metatron, is legitimate, the suggestion may be ventured that 'Enoch, the Youth,' has no more recondite origin than a purely verbal association with Prov. 22, 6 (חנך לנער על פי דרכו). It is easy to see how convenient these lucubrations were to Christian scholars in search of a Jewish counterpart to the Second Person of the Trinity. By way of the equivalence of the uncreated Metatron and Shekinah which the cabalists offered them, they found what they required; and the more concrete Metatron answered their purpose even better than the (etymologically) abstract Shekinah.⁸⁴

By a similar equation they found the Messiah in Metatron. The Jews recognized Metatron in Jacob's angel 'redeemer' (Gen. 48, 16), the 'angel of His presence' who saved God's people (Isa. 63, 9), the 'angel of the covenant' who was suddenly to come to his temple (Mal. 3, 1), and, in general, in the

Angel of the Lord, whose personality so often seems to merge into that of the Lord himself. Christians identified this angel with Christ in his office under the old dispensation — the Messiah designate, we might say. Thus, by the axiom that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other, it was proved that Metatron was the Messiah.

The Christian authors who maintain this deceive themselves by a fallacy of equivocation. There is no evidence that the Jews associated either the Angel of the Lord or Metatron with the Messiah. Hengstenberg, indeed, avers that 'the identity of the Angel of Jehovah, or Metatron, with the Messiah was recognized even by the later Jews'; but, besides the fact that in the New Testament this 'is assumed to be universally accepted,' he adduces only a single passage from the Zohar (through Sommer, p. 35),⁸⁵ where there is nothing whatever about the Messiah, but in which he finds a prediction of the incarnation of Metatron in a mother's womb ⁸⁶ — certainly a singular mark by which to recognize a Jewish reference to the Messiah!

To summarize the results of this wide-ranging and in part intricate investigation: 1. *Metator* (*metatron*) is originally an appellative, the Latin *metator*, borrowed and first used in its proper, almost technical, sense, an officer who goes in advance of an army to choose and mark out the site of a camp, and to explore and indicate the route by which the halting place is to be reached. Israel's *metator* in the desert was God himself, or an angel assigned and commissioned by him to this task; this office was most naturally filled by Michael, the champion of the Jews. 2. In two passages in the Babylonian Talmud Metatron is the proper name of an angel whose office in heaven indicates a peculiar relation to Israel and interest in them; and in this stage the same offices, notably the ministry at the celestial altar with the offering of the souls of the righteous, and the same predicates, are assigned in different sources, now to Michael, now to Metatron. 3. In the revived apocalyptic and cabalistic literature of the Gaonic period and after, the translated Enoch becomes Metatron; his earthly body is transmuted into fire, and he takes his place among the angels, over whom

he is advanced to the first rank and supreme rule, thus taking the place held in the older angelology by Michael. Theosophic speculation seizes upon this angelic mythology, and elevates Metatron to a still higher eminence, until as we have seen, he—more properly, it—is identified with the Shekinah; it is an emanation, not a creature; and, as the ‘middle column,’ unites the four worlds that are superimposed in stages (the worlds of emanations, of creative ideas, of creative formations, and of creative matter),⁸⁷ etc.

In all this, from the metaphor in which he begins to the metaphysical myth in which he ends, whatever else Metatron may be or do, whether he is an individual created angel or an emanation from the Absolute, he is neither in function, nor in essence an ‘intermediary,’ or ‘mediator,’ in the sense in which that word is generally understood and in which it is intended by those who write about him in that category. As if the cabalistic myths were not fantastic enough, Christian theologians have added to them their own, at first to claim him for their Christology, latterly to discredit Judaism with him.

NOTES — II. METATRON

1. *Miscellanea Sacra*, lib. i, c. 17, § 7. For a modern instance, see p. 70, and below, n. 71.

2. See D. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim*, 1887.

3. Another reading is, 'The finger of God was made a *metafron*,' etc. So quoted by R. Moses ben Nahman on Exod. 12, 12; Eshtori Parhi, *Kaftor u-Perah*, f. 49b (ed. Berlin, 1852, f. 34b).

4. Compare R. Akiba (Sifre on Num. 27, 12, § 136), 'God showed Moses all the divisions (lit., compartments) of the land of Israel like a table laid out.'

5. The Rabbis named, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus and his most frequent opponent Joshua ben Hananiah, were disciples of Johanan ben Zakkai and flourished in the generation after the fall of Jerusalem. In Sifre on Num. 27, 12 (§ 136) it is the latter interpretation that is ascribed to Eliezer. See Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, I, 2 ed. 148.

6. Compare also *Yalkut in loc.* (§ 949). See the explanation in *Pesikta Zutarta* cited in Friedmann's note on Sifre, Deut. *loc. cit.*

7. Contemporaries of Akiba, in the first third of the second century. See below, p. 70.

8. מטטור. Variants (Theodor, p. 34): מטטור, מטטור, *al.* In the editio princeps and those that follow it: R. Levi said, Some interpreters interpret with Ben Azzai and Ben Zoma, The voice of God was made a *metafron* to Moses in the hour when He said to him, Go up to Mount Abarim (Deut. 32, 49—it guided him to the unknown spot where he was to die and be buried). The voice of God was made a *metafron* over the waters, etc.

9. The first great lexicon of the language of the Talmud and Midrash, compiled by Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome (d. 1106). This lexicon contains many quotations from works no longer extant, and many readings in extant works representing an earlier and often better text than our editions.

10. *Tanhuma*, Ki Tissa, *loc.*

11. On this passage, which is often referred to in the following pages, there is a learned monograph by Joh. Jac. Cramer, *Custos Israelis, seu Dissertatio philologico-theologica in Exodi cap. xxiii. v. 20, 21, 22, 23, qua Angelum Israelis tutorem unigenitum Dei filium, et verum aeternumque Deum esse solide, etiam ex Hebraeorum consensu demonstratur*. 1705. Cf. also his *Dissert. in Exod. xxxiii. 1-6; 12 ff., xxxiv. 5-10*.

12. *Shemoth Rabbah* on Exod. 23, 20 (edit. Wilna, 1884, c. 32, 2, f. 60b).

13. So Aruk, edit. prin. (see Kohut, *s. v.*); later editions, *metafor* (sing.). *Tanhuma*, Balak § 10: 'Showing that he (Balak) had sent messengers (*sheluhim*) to apprise him' (of Balaam's approach); ed. Buber, § 14, 'messengers to Balak to apprise him.'

14. He suggests a possible etymology in a different sense, from Aram. נטר, 'keep, protect,' equivalent to Hebrew שטר (cf. Exod. 23, 20).

15. See also *Yalkut*, Gen. § 44 (from *Midrash Abkir*): 'God despatched *Metafron* as a messenger (*shaliḥ*) to *Shemḥazai*,' one of the angels who fell. It is possible that *shaliḥ* is a gloss. Cf. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash IV*, 127 f., and the *Book of Enoch*, 12, 4 ff.

16. The words are ambiguous: Was it the Lord who bade Moses ascend to Metatron, or Metatron who bade him ascend to the Lord? The cabalists were divided on this question (Recanati, quoted by Danz, pp. 735 f.); modern scholars equally. Bacher takes the former alternative; Kohut the latter.

17. See below, n. 72.

18. I.e. do not exchange (confound) me with him; taking אל תמר בו 'do not rebel against him' as אל תסירי בו (cf. Jer. 2, 11). The same explanation is given in Shemoth Rabbah 32, 4. where a commentator correctly remarks, 'Do not imagine that he is God.'

19. The heretic's argument is that 'he will not' implies that he has the power to do so, a power that is a divine prerogative.

20. פרוחקא, a Persian word found elsewhere in the Talmud in the sense of 'precursor, courier, messenger,' corresponding thus in general sense with *metator*, *metatron*, in the Palestinian sources discussed above. R. Hananel (on Sanh. loc.) interprets תייר ('scout').

21. Tanhuma, Mishpatim, § 18 init.; ed. Buber § 10.

22. See especially Agadath Bereshith 32 (ed. Buber, p. 64 f.).

23. The ending *on* is appended to many foreign words where it does not properly belong. See S. Krauss, Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter, I, 192. With the doublet compare סנינור and סנינורן (*συνήγορος*).

24. 'The language of Javan,' might be Greek or Latin. These Rabbis seem to make no difference. The words of Ramban are translated in full by Danz, pp. 723 f.

25. Egidio of Viterbo, general of the Augustinian order, in whose house in Rome Elias lived for thirteen years (1513-27), as the cardinal's teacher, especially in the Cabala.

26. Subtitle (Latin): Sive de convenientia vocabulorum rabbinicorum cum Graecis et quibusdam aliis linguis Europaeis (1638).

27. J. A. Danz, Schekina cum piis cohabitans ad Joh. xiv, 23, Progr. iii-iv. (In Meuschen, Novum Testamentum ex Talmude illustratum (1736), pp. 721 ff.) Cf. also Joh. Jac. Cramer, Dissert. in Exod. xxiii, 20-23, pp. 103 ff. (1705).

29. Largely drawn — with due credit — from Du Cange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis (1678).

30. These are the examples cited by Du Cange and from him by Danz. What I have done is to take the text from modern critical editions, and, where it seemed to conduce to the understanding of the passage, to quote a larger context.

31. Peter Chrysologus calls John the Baptist, Metator Domini.

32. Related to German 'Herberge,' originally, 'army quarters.'

33. Murray, New English Dictionary, s. v.

34. The authors evidently imagine that *metator* is derived from *metiri*!

35. The Jewish Encyclopedia (VIII, 519 — Ludwig Blau), which is alleged as authority for the statement, gives no excuse for the misunderstanding, nor does Hagigah 15a (not '15b'), which the authors cite but have evidently not read.

36. That the word is really as old as the beginning of the second century appears from the Palestinian sources quoted above. Why if, as the authors tell us, Elisha ben Abuyah (a Palestinian) used the word, a Latin derivation

is more improbable because the story as told in the Babylonian Talmud is inscrutable.

37. The propensity of dilettanti for displaying their ingenuity and their acquaintance with foreign dictionaries in combinations which justify the ancient jibe, 'Etymology is a science in which vowels count for nothing and consonants for very little,' is to be taken into account.

38. In ed. Amsterdam 1726, which I have used, f. 114a.

39. *Matrona*, *Matronita*, is a contribution from the *Cabala*. By a similar etymological path Levi ben Gerson (d. 1344), on Prov. 1, 8, 'Forsake not the teaching of thy mother,' identifies *metatron* with the *sekel ha-po'el* (active intellect) of his Aristotelian philosophy.

40. I.e. Latin *metator*. The *n* is Bahya's own addition to the confusion. Ramban, whom he is copying, has correctly *metator*. Buxtorf, who quotes the passage at length in his lexicon, makes the impossible conjecture that the author was thinking of *μνητωρ* (poetic for *μνηστής*), which he renders by *nuncius*; in reality it means an informer (*delator*). Gfroerer charges this etymological juggling to Bahya. Danz guessed *mandatarius*!

41. Oesterley and Box express themselves as if this explanation originated with Weber.

42. *Christologie*, 2d ed. III. 2, p. 79.

43. 'Mitatron ist nämlich der Mitthroner Gottes, ὁ μέτοχος τοῦ θρόνου, ὁ συνθρονος, oder der Herr, der zur Rechten des Herrn sitzt (Ps. cx. 1), der Sohn, der mit dem Vater auf seinem Throne sitzt (Apoc. iii, 21).'

44. Oesterley and Box, who, after Weber, give their readers the choice of *Metathronos* and *Metatyrranos*, remark: 'We cannot, however, follow Weber when he speaks of the analogy of the Crown Prince,' etc. This 'analogy' is not Weber's; it is a gratuitous ineptitude of Schnedermann in the second edition, who to Weber's 'der nächste nach dem Herrscher' adds '(gleichsam dem Kronprinz).'

45. 'Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie' (in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, IV. 3 (1866), and separately, pp. 36-42. Also in his *Aruch Completum*, V (1889), 119 f.

46. Pseudonym of Selig Korn.

47. An anniversary publication of Schul-Pforta, in which Schmieder was a professor. To this rather rare pamphlet I was directed by a reference in Hengstenberg.

48. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 46. Many others have been captivated by the word *μεστρης*, ignoring Plutarch's own interpretation, a middle thing between God and the Devil, or between light and darkness, or putting conjectures of their own in its place.

49. Tos. Hagigah 2, 3; Hagigah 14b-15; Jer. Hagigah, ii, 1(f. 77b).

50. In a rapture (cf. Paul's account of such an experience, 2 Cor. 12, 1-4: he was 'rapt into Paradise and heard unutterable things, which it is not permitted a man to speak'). Such experiences are meant to be understood literally.

51. Since the bodies of angels are constituted of fire, this is the natural form of castigation.

52. On this passage see L. Ginzberg in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, 138 f.; also Tosafot on Hag. 14b.

53. Deduced from Isa. 28, 9.

54. In the Jerusalem Talmud there is none of it.

55. *Op. cit.* p. 172. And on the next page (with the same references, Hullin 60a; Yebamot 16b): 'His function of representing God is perhaps seen most distinctly in the title that is given him of the 'Prince of the World' (*sar ha-'olam*), which shows that he was thought of as the ruler of the world.' That one of these passages in the Jerusalem Talmud is an original discovery. All that is said about the *sar ha-'olam* in the places cited is that he uttered certain verses of Scripture on certain occasions. In Hullin, when God said, 'after its kind,' of the trees (Gen. 1, 11), the *sar ha-'olam* said, 'May the glory of the Lord be forever; let the Lord rejoice in his works' (Psalm 104, 31). What prompted him to this ejaculation was that the grasses and herbs, notwithstanding that God did not say of them 'after its kind,' argue a fortiori that he could not mean them to be all mixed up, and accordingly appeared by species like the rest (vs. 12). In Yebamot the words of Psalm 37, 25, 'I have been young and now am old (yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken,' etc.), were uttered by the *sar ha-'olam*, upon occasion of the calamities described in Lam. 5, 11, 'They have ravished the women in Zion, the maidens in the cities of Judah.' In neither place does the name Metatron occur, nor anything that remotely suggests him. Neither has the *sar ha-'olam* here any symptom of a ruler of the world, or 'a kind of demiurge' (Levy). Rashi's laconic gloss in 'an angel.'

56. Glosses by mediaeval French rabbis after Rashi. See on Yebamot 16b (רש"י); Hullin 60a (same catchword).

57. Thus, for example, Bahya ben Asher on Exod. 23, 21; cf. on Exod. 33, 14.

58. Sandalphon (συνάδελφος) is similar, but occurs only in one place in the Talmud (Hagigah 13b); elsewhere only in late writings, and never in Palestinian literature.

59. Above, p. 64 f.

60. Above, p. 65.

61. So Rashi (taking 'the Lord's host' as Israel), and others.

62. The Hebrew word translated 'captain' and 'prince' is the same (*sar*).

63. Cf. the same Targum on Deut. 34, 6, where Metatron and three others are the four 'princes of wisdom.'

64. Tanhuma, Weethanan § 6 (ed. Buber, f. 7a). So also Gr̃nhut, Liqqutim V, 105a (from Yelammedenu).

65. Midrash Mishle on 14, 34 (ed. Buber, f. 39b). A manuscript in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York has here Metatron instead of Michael (Jewish Encyclopedia, X, 231).

66. Cf. Berakot 3a, below.

67. Ekah Rabbati, Proem 24 (ed. Wilna f. 6d, top). On the secret place (μυστήριον) which God has, whither to retire and weep, see Hagigah 5b (on Jer. l.c.).

68. Hagigah 12b; Zebahim 62a; Menahot 110a. The formulation is consistent. See Lucken, Michael, pp. 30 f.

69. Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrash, III, 137.

70. So far, Tanhuma, Naso, 18.

71. Bemidbar Rabbah, 12, 12 (ed. Wilna 1884, f. 49a), cf. Rev. 5, 8; 8, 3 (Psalm 141, 2). Oesterley and Box (p. 175) assert that in this place 'the term 'Mediator' is directly applied to Metatron, and, what is more significant, he is represented as the reconciler between God and the Chosen People.' The whole passage is quoted above in a literal translation. There is no word in the context, far and wide, which could remotely suggest 'Mediator,' to say nothing about being 'directly applied' to Metatron. (See this Review, XIV, 249). Weber, from whom the authors have their (blind) reference (without acknowledgment) renders the passage correctly. In so late a Midrash it is probable that the 'Youth whose name is Metatron' is meant to be the translated Enoch, of whom more is to be said hereafter; but the attribution of Michael's function to Metatron is independent of this identification.

72. It is possible that the meaning of the mysterious words 'for my name is in him,' was found in the name Michael. The words are usually paraphrased 'whose name is like the name of his master.' Etymological midrash found in *אין כאל* a compound of *מי כמכה* (Exod. 15, 11) 'Who is like Thee?' and *אל* (Deut. 33, 26) 'There is none like God.' 'My name is in him,' would then be the name *אל*, 'God,' not, as the cabalists imagined, the proper name *יהוה*, so that they even call him *יהוה הקטן* 'Jahveh Minor' (or 'Junior'), e.g. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash V*, 175. Hence a Moslem polemic speaks of 'the little God' whom the Jews call Mitatrun (Mas'udi, quoted by Schreiner, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLII, 598). The Moslem puts into the mouth of Metatron the lamentation which in *Ekah Rabbathi*, Proem. 24 (cf. Berakot 3a) is uttered by God.

73. In a Response of the Gaons Sherira and Hai (dated 992), it is said: Jacob said, 'The angel who redeemed me,' etc. (Gen. 48, 16), and Isaiah, 'The angel of His presence saved them.' This is the Prince of the Presence (*asr ha-panim*) of whom our Rabbis speak, Metatron. And we see how the Merciful (God) extols him, and makes known to Moses his honor and his greatness, as it is written, 'Behold I send,' etc., 'Beware of him,' etc. — A. Harkavy, *Responsen der Geonim* (1887), No. 173, p. 189.

74. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash II*, 55.

75. L.c. p. 56, l. 11 from below. In another manuscript also at an earlier point (p. 55, below). The inconsistency is doubtless to be attributed to copyists; but testifies to the persistent survival of the identification.

76. The intercourse between Palestine and Babylonia and the study of Palestinian Midrash in Babylonia sufficiently explain this.

77. An angel who stands with Metatron in the highest rank, and sometimes takes precedence of him, is Sandalphon (*συνάδελφος*, sc. of Metatron), whom later cabalists identify with the translated Elijah.

78. The angelic scribe, Ezek. 9, 2 ff.; Enoch 89, 61 ff.; 90, 14, 22. In these places in Enoch probably Michael, as the guardian angel of Israel.

79. Not quite the same, for Metatron writes down the good deeds of Israelites; Enoch the judgment and sentence upon the world and all the evil deeds of mankind. It is the generation before the flood.

80. In the Midrash *Elle Ezkere* (Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash II*, 66): 'Metatron the great scribe' (or secretary) writes down and seals the decree of God against Edom (Rome).

81. With the assumption of Enoch and his ascent through the heavens compare the Ascension of Isaiah 7-11.

82. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, V, 172.

83. See above, p. 72.

84. A summary of the doctrine of Metatron in the Zohar and appendices with references to the sources may be found in *Eshel Abraham* by Abraham Rovigo (Fürth, 1701), f. 9 c. See also Danz, p. 735 (b) f. He is the first of the creations of God; to him God gave dominion over all his hosts; servant of God, the senior of his house, ruling over all; his name is like his master's, he is created in his image and likeness. He is a priest of the Most High; he takes the souls of the righteous up (to heaven) every night. In more distinctively cabalistic conception Metatron unites (or connects) the stages (דרגות) of the four-story universe, from top to bottom and bottom to top. He is the 'middle column' (עמודא דאמצעיתא) reaching up and down to both extremities, like the 'middle bar' in the tabernacle, which passed through from end to end (Exod. 26, 28). It is in Metatron that the Lord is revealed in his Shekinah, e.g. to Ezekiel. Metatron, who is called *sar hapanim*, is as it were a vesture enveloping Metatron who is called Shaddai; the Lord and his Shekinah are in the midst of the latter. Later cabalists found the distinction between two Metatrons intimated in the spelling of the word: מִטְטָרוֹן is the Shekinah; מַטְטָרוֹן is the angel of the Shekinah, an envoy or minister (Tikkune Zohar, and Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*, quoted by Danz, 735 (b), 736 (c); more fully, Sommer, *Theologia Soharica*, pp. 36 f.). The *Eshel Abraham* is innocent of this refinement. In the *Yalkut Rubeni* the doctrine is even more explicitly stated. The author finds in the Zohar two Metatrons, Major and Minor; the latter is a created being, a messenger; the Great Metatron is an emanation (Danz, 737 (d)). It is perhaps not superfluous to call particular attention in the foregoing to the phrase 'the middle column,' with its context and explanation, since, especially in the Latin *columna medietatis*, it is exposed to the misunderstanding that some kind of an intermediary, or 'mediatorial,' place and function is attributed to Metatron.

85. The servant of God, the senior of his house, etc. is Metatron, of whom we have said: (Gen. 24, 2).

86. Sommer: 'Futurus sit ut conjugatur corpori in utero materno.' Similia legimus de Christo Psalm lx, 7-9. — Sommer has apparently forgotten that $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\omega\ \mu\omicron\iota$ is LXX (and N. T.), but not in the Hebrew text. If the language of the Zohar is rightly understood, it would only be one of many evidences of the influence of Christian ideas, or a desire to match them, in late developments of the Cabala.

87. *Aqilut*, Beriyah, *Yeqira*, 'Asiyah. Ginsberg, 'Cabala,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, III, 475.

SOME RECENT STUDIES ON THE IRANIAN RELIGIONS

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It is curious, and perhaps significant, that the two most important volumes on the Iranian religions which have appeared within the last decade should have been written by scholars who were not professed Iranists. Professor James Hope Moulton, the author of the Hibbert Lectures on *Early Zoroastrianism* (London, 1913), was a theologian and a hellenist; Professor Raffaele Pettazzoni, who has just given us his *La Religione di Zarathustra* (Bologna, 1920),¹ is a student of comparative religion of the finest and sanest type. Pettazzoni seems not to have had the advantage of consulting Moulton's volume; but while from one point of view this may be regrettable, from another it has worked for good, since two scholars have reached independently results which, when combined, put the genesis of Iranism in an entirely new light and go far toward the solution of many perplexing problems, if, indeed, they may not have solved the riddle as a whole. Of Moulton's work I have expressed an opinion elsewhere,² and subsequent reflection has only confirmed that judgement.

I can conceive no higher praise for both these scholars than to say that the work of either is comparable only with that of the other. Each is, however, distinctly individual; *Early Zoroastrianism* treats solely of pre-zoroastrian Iranism and the Gāthās, while *La Religione di Zarathustra* surveys the system from its beginnings to the present day.

Pettazzoni's volume is divided into eight chapters: 'The Problem of Zoroastrianism,' 'Pre-zarathustrian "Paganism"' and the Religious Reform of Zarathustra,' 'Origin and Early

¹ Vol. i of the *Storia delle Religioni*, edited by him.

² *Expository Times*, xxv (1914), 256-257; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vii (1914), 396.

Times of Zoroastrianism,' 'Zoroastrianism in Persia and the Achaemenidae,' 'Foreign Domination and the Persian Middle Ages,' 'The Persian Renaissance under the Sassanids,' and 'Zoroastrianism and Islam.' The work is fully documented, and reveals not merely breadth of reading but sound judgement. I accept its conclusions in principle, as I accept those of Dr. Moulton.

Combining these conclusions, so far as the beginnings of Iranism are concerned, we may now see that this system consists of at least five strata. Without pretending to exhaust the components of each, and disregarding doubtful matters, we may hold that to the Persian religion (that is, that of Persis) were due aniconism, animal sacrifice, and nature-worship (that is, essentially, the system described by Herodotus); to extra-persian pre-zoroastrianism, Mithra, Haoma, Yima, and other elements common to the Avesta and the Veda; to Zoroastrianism (that is, the teachings of Zoroaster himself), monotheism and war against evil, in short all the ethical element; to Magianism, dualism, exposure of corpses, marriage with near kin, horror of mountains, and the minute prescriptions of the *Vidēvdāt*; and to Babylonia, oneiromancy, astrology, and certain myths, as for instance that of the attempt of Kāy Kā'ūs to fly to heaven on the back of eagles, which is plainly a reminiscence of an episode in the story of Etana. Further investigations may reveal yet other sources for a system which should, perhaps, be termed 'Iranism' rather than 'Zoroastrianism.'

Pettazzoni, like Moulton,³ is quite right in declaring that Zoroastrianism is monotheistic, not dualistic, and he correctly says:

In reality dualism is not a negation of monotheism; therefore it is monotheism itself in two opposed and contrary aspects. It does not precede monotheism; therefore it is a reflex of it. . . . In dualism all those divine elements are present which monotheism denies and denies again, but they are present in the only form compatible with the concept (also present) of one god. . . . Thus Anrama(i)nyu is not essentially another god beside Ahura Mazda; he is Ahura Mazda himself in the inversion of all his qualities.

³ *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 12-16; dualism is a Magian doctrine (*ibid.* pp. 201, 220, 322).

Anrama(i)nyu is the heir and the exponent of all the gods (*daēva*) of the polytheistic paganism; he is not himself a traditional god; he is a new figure who enters with the Reform, substituted for all the divine figures of the tradition, and thus reducing all its representatives to unity.

The Zoroastrian reform took place, Pettazzoni believes, "in the course of the seventh century B.C., in a point of north-western Iran." This implied date for Zoroaster seems indeed the most probable, although Moulton⁴ would set it about 1000 B.C. A matter of much more gravity is the relation between Iranism and Judaism (pp. 76-84). Pettazzoni here takes a step which I have long considered necessary, and here again he is found in virtual agreement with Moulton (pp. 68-73). These two scholars hold that the debt was not that of Judaism to Iranism, but the reverse. It was the Jews who taught Zoroastrianism its monotheism; the messianic concept was borrowed by Iran from Israel; the figure of Satan and the doctrines of immortality and the fall were genuinely Jewish. At the most, Pettazzoni will admit only that dualism was borrowed by the Jews, and Moulton well says: "It seems therefore that in all things that really matter we have no adequate grounds for believing Jewish ideas indebted to any outside source which can be connected with the Avesta." To this list the doctrine of angels and archangels may be added; the concept seems to me too genuinely Hebraic to be explained away merely by *argumenta e silentio*, and מלאכים are mentioned before the exilic period.⁵

On the other hand, Moulton's argument that the Magi were non-iranian⁶ seems preferable to the view that they were Persian. This involves the implication, in spite of Pettazzoni (p. 84), that Zoroaster was not a Magian. A similar theory was advanced in 1908 by Zaborowski in a work which has failed of its deserved recognition among Iranists and which neither Moulton nor Pettazzoni quotes.⁷ Zaborowski lays

⁴ *Treasure of the Magi*, p. 6. "Nothing earlier than the tenth century can be admitted, it would seem, and another century or two may be quite reasonably allowed" (p. 18).

⁵ Cf. also Gaster, 'Parsiism in Judaism,' in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ix (1917), 637-640.

⁶ *Early Zoroastrianism*, Lecture vi; cf. his article 'Magi,' in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, viii (1915), pp. 242-244; *Treasure of the Magi*, *passim*.

⁷ *Les peuples aryens d'Asie et d'Europe*, Paris, 1908, pp. 189-196.

stress on the antipathy between Magi and Persians, and quite correctly writes:

Les mages étaient sûrement, en effet, vis-à-vis des Perses, les dépositaires du savoir, des conceptions, des symboles, des formules, des vieilles civilisations. . . . Ceux-ci ont opéré sur un ensemble de croyances existant en Médie, alors que l'apport des Aryens y était déjà considérable; ou mieux ils ont adapté à quelques formes religieuses, à quelques prescriptions plus anciennes assurant la domination de leur caste, des croyances plus simples que l'hégémonie politique des Perses imposait.

None the less, Pettazzoni (pp. 114-115) also distinguishes between Persians and Medes, the priests of the latter being the Magi; and he carefully and sympathetically outlines Herodotus' account of the religion of the Persians. He makes the interesting political suggestion that the internal struggle between the old religion and the Zoroastrian reform aided Cyrus in his conquest of Media; and as regards the problem of the faith of the early Achaemenians, he declares — most correctly in my opinion — “Dario fu un mazdeista senza essere un zoroastriano.” It was in Persia proper that Zoroastrianism was constrained to become polytheistic (pp. 133-134), and the divergencies between the Persian and Zoroastrian systems are discussed with proper fullness (pp. 133-139), the further distinctions between Zoroastrianism and Magianism being given in the various studies of Moulton.

Alien rule of Iran solidified the union of all these elements, and thus, when foreign sovereignty could be shaken off, the composite religion had become an emblem of nationality. This is the explanation of the great strength of Iranism, in its Zoroastrian form, during the Sassanid period (p. 170); and it was precisely for this reason that Manichaeism was banned as being universalistic and contrary to the nationalistic spirit of the later period (pp. 190-193). The relations between the Sassanian state and the Jews and Christians in Persia are adequately sketched (pp. 193-199, 201-204), but one of the best studies on these matters⁸ the author seems not to have con-

⁸ Wigram, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church*, London, 1910; cf. also Gray, ‘Zoroastrian and other Ethnic Religious Material in the Acta Sanctorum,’ in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-14, pp. 37-55. I have not yet been able to consult Braun’s *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Kempten, 1915.

sulted. The curious figure of Mazdak receives attention (pp. 199-200),⁹ as does the difficult question of the religion of the Parthians (p. 171);¹⁰ and Mithraism is discussed (pp. 163-169) as a syncretism of old Iranism, the Babylonian Shamash-cult, and the orgiastic religions of Asia Minor.¹¹ In this connection it is of interest to note that the *Deus Areimanius* of Mithraic inscriptions is confirmed not only by the underworld deity of the Persians mentioned by Herodotus (vii, 114) and Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir.* 46),¹² but also by the use of the Armenian *Sandaramet*, the Persian form of the Avesta *Spenta Armaiti* (an earth-goddess), to translate γῆ κάρω in Ezechiel 31, 16, and καταχθόνιος in Philippians 2, 10.¹³ To this same period belongs the "Image of Vohuman" in an inscription from Assur,¹⁴ thus confirming the statement of Strabo (p. 733 c) on this subject.

The Sassanian empire, Pettazzoni judiciously remarks (p. 185), "was not a theocratic state, although it was clerical." This involves a difficult question, which here can only be asked, not answered. How is one to explain such a passage as that contained, for instance, in the Greek and Pahlavi inscription of Ardashir at Naqs-i-Rustam, where the monarch is 'divine' (*θεός, bagī*), 'of the race of the gods' (*ἐκ γένους θεῶν, minū chitri min yastān*), 'son of the divine Pāpak'? Does this mean what it says? The concept is not Indo-iranian, but it may possibly be a reminiscence of Babylonia.¹⁵ In any event, there is, according to Pettazzoni (pp. 189-190), a distinct trace of Babylon in the concept of Zrvan Akarana ('Boundless

⁹ See Modi, 'Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist,' in *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1918, pp. 116-131.

¹⁰ See the recent study by Unvala, 'The Religion of the Parthians,' in *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1914, pp. 1-10.

¹¹ See also Jones, 'Mithraism,' in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, viii (1916), 752-759.

¹² Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 128-130.

¹³ Meillet, 'Sur les termes religieux iraniens en Arménien,' in *Revue des études arméniennes*, i (1921), 233-236.

¹⁴ (מלכא) (מלכא) (מלכא); Jensen, in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1919, p. 1018; cf. also Jackson, 'Images and Idols (Persian),' in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vii (1914), 151-155.

¹⁵ Cf. Gray, 'King (Indian),' in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vii (1914), 720-721; Casartelli, 'King (Iranian),' *ibid.* 721-723; Mercer, "'Emperor"-Worship in Babylonia,' in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxxvi (1917), 360-380.

Time') as an attempt to solve the problem of Magian dualism. This concept was, I think, far more widely spread than the Avesta texts imply, and I strongly incline to regard Zarvanism as the prevailing sect in the Sassanian period.¹⁶

In his concluding chapter Pettazzoni does not mention two of the chief works on the modern period: Dosabhai Framji Karaka's *History of the Parsis* (2 vols., London, 1884), and Mlle. Menant's *Les Parsis* (part 1, Paris, 1898).¹⁷ We must also bear in mind that there are some interesting survivals of Iranism in remote corners of the Caucasus and the Pamirs. The former are discussed in an article by me on the Thushes and kindred tribes, which will appear in the concluding volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*; the material concerning the latter is still to be collected and digested.¹⁸

It is not easy for me to write of Moulton's *Treasure of the Magi: A Study of Modern Zoroastrianism*,¹⁹ for its printed pages are the echo of a voice no mortal ears may ever hear again. When one compares this volume with his *Early Zoroastrianism*, one sees the difference between the mere scholar and the man. Deep as is my admiration for the erudition of the *Early Zoroastrianism*, which led me to revise my former outlook upon the Iranian religion, it has not the human touch of the *Treasure*. All the learning is here that adorned the *Hibbert Lectures*; but, in addition, there is the more precious gift of sincere, deep, simple, manly Christian piety.²⁰

¹⁶ *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-14, p. 39; cf. also Gray, 'Fate (Iranian),' in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, v (1912), 792-793; Edwards, 'Sects (Zoroastrian),' *ibid.* xi (1920), 345-347; Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, pp. 203-205.

¹⁷ See also Mlle. Menant's articles, 'Gabars,' in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vi (1913), 147-156; 'Parsis,' *ibid.* ix (1917), 640-650; Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York, 1906, pp. 353-400.

¹⁸ See, *inter alia*, Kovalevsky, 'Survivals of Iranian Culture in the Caucasian Highlands,' in *Archaeological Review*, i (1888), 313-331; De Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au nord et au sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, Paris, 1896, pp. 91, 96-97, 329-332, 334, 337-338; Bid-dulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Koosh*, Calcutta, 1880, pp. 75, 108; Olufsen, *Through the Unknown Pamirs*, London, 1904, pp. 197-199, 205-206.

¹⁹ Oxford, 1917 (in the series entitled *The Religious Quest of India*).

²⁰ A touching tribute to my friend is paid by the Reverend Bardsley Brash in his exquisite chapter on 'Another "Verray Gentil Knight"' in *Letters to 'The Happy Warrior'*, pp. 25-30.

I do not wish to review this book; I read it still with too much sorrow for the tragic loss of its author and with too much gladness that such men as he have lived and still live upon this earth. I can add only a few references to studies which he could not see.^a Suffice it to say that while the first portion of the volume (pp. 1-118) covers ground similar to that of the *Early Zoroastrianism*, it is written from a wholly different outlook; but the second portion, 'The Parsis' (pp. 119-254), deals with matters which Moulton had not previously discussed in any printed form. Here he has chapters on 'The Community,' 'The Priesthood,' 'Ceremonial Life: Fire-Temples and Towers of Silence,' 'Ceremonial Life: Outside the Fire-Temple,' 'Orthodoxy and Reform,' 'Parsi Piety,' 'The Parsis and Christian Propaganda,' 'The Crown of Zoroastrianism.' Many things are here written which the Parsis would do well to heed: the chill, negative rationalism to which their attempts at reform are but too conducive, and the follies of the pseudo-oriental theosophy wherein many Parsis take refuge, are unsparingly but honestly exposed (pp. 173-198), as is the equally despairing eclecticism where others find a facile but shallow harbor (pp. 207-209). Fully recognizing (p. 211) that "Zoroastrianism differs essentially from all other non-Christian creeds in that its fundamental documents set forth a system which calls for supplement, but nowhere includes what is untrue or unworthy," Moulton could not but direct attention to certain grave deficiencies in this faith. It lacks love and renunciation, it is weak in the doctrines of grace and forgiveness, it stresses works and ignores faith (pp. 194-206, 211); in these respects, I would add, it is inferior, much as I admire it, to Vaiṣṇavism and Northern Buddhism, which, however imperfectly, at least teach love.

^a Regarding Mani (p. 113) see now Dhalla, 'Mani's Asceticism from the Zoroastrian Point of View,' in *Madressa Jubilee Volume*, pp. 89-99; on the question of proselytism (pp. 127-131) see Gray, 'Missions (Zoroastrian),' in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, viii (1915), 749-751, and Mlle. Menant, 'Une évolution sociale chez les Parsis,' in *Revue d'ethnographie et de sociologie*, 1914, pp. 118-130, 168-180, 235-247; on the researches of Dr. Spooner (pp. 63, 74, 81-82, 142) see Modi, 'Ancient Pāṭaliputra,' in his *Asiatic Papers*, ii (Bombay, 1917), 211-236.

From these two volumes one turns to a third only to meet with chilling disappointment. Carl Clemen's *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*²² bears the date of 1920, although its preface states that it was completed some years since. This work is written from the standpoint of a half-century ago. Clemen is quite aware of Moulton's views, but he expressly rejects them (pp. 207-233). His denial of Moulton's (and now, doubtless, of Pettazzoni's) advance seriously affects the worth of his own study. The use of the term 'Persian' as synonymous with Zoroastrian, Magian, and Indo-iranian lands Clemen in difficulties and contradictions among his sources which he seeks to avoid in ways more ingenious than convincing. I can appreciate these difficulties, for I was myself involved in them until Moulton and Pettazzoni set me free.

The entire work is so vitiated by this fundamental error that it is scarcely possible to review it in detail. Fortunately one may, by using the hypothesis of stratifications, build up a very satisfactory account of the Greek and Latin writers on the Iranian systems from the same author's collection of *Fontes historiae religionis Persicae*.²³ Such a compilation was needed as a supplement to my own collection of Greek and Latin data concerning Zoroaster;²⁴ and it is a matter of satisfaction that it has at last appeared. With Clemen's general conclusion regarding the value of these sources (p. 202) I find myself in full agreement:

The picture of the Persian religion that we might make on the basis of the Avesta is enriched in very extraordinary fashion by the Greek and Latin data. Both among the Achaemenians and among the Persian people we have learned an abundance of views and tendencies which the native sources scarcely imply or wholly fail to imply. In many cases, it is true, they had nothing to do with the official religion, yet in part they belonged to it. . . . On the other hand, very much that we read in our present Avesta, especially in the Yasna, Visprat, and Vidēvdāt, is not mentioned by the Greeks and

²² *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, xvii, Heft 1, Giessen, 1920.

²³ *Fontes historiae religionum ex auctoribus Graecis et Latinis collecti*, Fasciculus 1, Bonn, 1920.

²⁴ In Jackson, *Zoroaster*, New York, 1899, pp. 231-273; cf. my supplement, 'Additional Classical Passages Mentioning Zoroaster's Name,' in *Le Muséon*, ix (1908), 311-318.

Latins; but it would be as incorrect to delineate the Persian religion only according to the latter as to regard them so slightly as has heretofore been usual.

On the basis of the classical references, Clemen concludes that Zoroaster flourished about 1000 B.C., or even earlier; and that he was born and labored in Western Iran (pp. 27-28, 42).

Occasionally, quite apart from what I regard as his fatal fundamental error, Clemen appears to me to slip. To see in the 'Agonaces' of Pliny xxx, i [2], 4, a corruption of 'Ἀγοραμά-ζης, 'Ahura Mazda' (p. 49), seems rather violent; and it is by no means certain that Agradates, the original name of Cyrus (Strabo, p. 729 c), meant 'Ahura-given' (p. 63);²⁵ it may more reasonably be explained as Iranian *Ag(h)radāta, 'First-given.' In connection with the story of Zariadres (p. 42) reference might have been made to the discussion of the legend by Rohde,²⁶ and the statement of Firmicus Maternus (*De errore prof. relig.* 5) regarding a female fire-deity (p. 104) receives support from a passage in the Syriac Acts of the Martyrs.²⁷ Clemen's book can not be pronounced a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Iranism.

²⁵ Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, pp. 6, 48, 491, would read Atradata ('Fire-given').

²⁶ *Griechischer Roman*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1900, pp. 47-54.

²⁷ Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 35; Gray, *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-14, p. 46.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN ORIGINS

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Johannes Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, Göttingen, 1917.

Alfred Loisy, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, Paris, 1920.

F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Volume I, London, 1920.

Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921.

Roland Schütz, *Apostel und Jünger, eine quellenkritische und geschichtliche Untersuchung über die Entstehung des Christentums*, Giessen, 1921.

B. H. Streeter, 'Fresh Light on the Synoptic Problem,' *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1921.

THE purpose of this article is not so much to offer a review of the books mentioned above as to indicate briefly their nature and contents, and to discuss the varied yet similar points of view which they represent toward some of the problems in the story of Christian origins as studied today.

Johannes Weiss will always hold a prominent place in the history of research into the meaning of early Christian literature. His treatment of 1 Corinthians, even for those who do not wholly accept his critical dissections, is one of the great commentaries on any single book of the New Testament; though for many his highest achievement will always seem to be his *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, especially in the first edition, of which the freshness and vigor were somewhat impaired by the emendations and additions in the second. It was a great loss to theological learning that he died so prematurely in 1914. His last book, *Das Urchristentum*, was left partly unfinished, and owes its final pages to Professor Knopf. It is a large book, but shows with sad clearness a certain hurriedness and lack of proportion due to the race with death which the author was running. The first 510 pages were published before his death, the rest were only partly ready, but were finished by Professor Knopf, and appeared in 1917. The whole

follows what have become the conventional lines for an historical investigation of early Christianity. There is first a description of the primitive church, then of the mission to the Gentiles and of Paul's work, followed by a long discussion of Paul as a Christian and a theologian. These comprise the part published in 1913; the remaining parts now added discuss the spread of Christianity in the first century, and the special characteristics and history of the church in Judaea, Syria, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Achaea, and Rome.

The next two books, *Les Actes des Apôtres* by Professor Loisy, and *The Beginnings of Christianity*, volume I, by Dr. F. J. Foakes Jackson and myself, are specially concerned with the Acts of the Apostles, and discuss it mainly as the chief source of our knowledge about the primitive church. Dr. Jackson and I have issued the historical prolegomena in one volume, reserving the critical prolegomena for a second, and the text and commentary for a third. Volume I appeared in 1920, volume II will come early in 1922, and the volume with the text probably in 1923.

Loisy has published his prolegomena and commentary in one large volume of more than one thousand pages; he devotes the first fifty pages to an account of modern criticism of Acts, ending with a slightly acid discussion of the works of Harnack, from whom he differs sharply. On the other hand he accepts a suggestion of Eduard Norden in *Agnostos Theos* which I admit did not seem to me acceptable, especially in the form in which he made it. Norden argued from the imperfect nature of the preface to Acts that the original work of Luke had been a work in two volumes, which was a complete, consistent, and finished production, but was taken over by a later editor who submitted it to drastic interpolations consistent with themselves but not with the source. Loisy accepts this view and throughout his commentary endeavours to distinguish between the Source and the Interpolator, instead of speculating about the sources used by the final editor whom most earlier critics have held responsible for the preface in spite of its bad grammar. I am still unconvinced that this is right, but Loisy's book combined with the sympathy shown for the same theory

by Eduard Meyer has shown me that the suggestion cannot be ignored as it will be found to be in the second volume of 'The Beginnings of Christianity.' Fortunately there will be opportunity in a later volume to repair this fault.

Loisy goes on in his introduction to work out the consequences of his theory and to reconstruct the true history of events as he conceives it. It is curious to notice that the historical results which he reaches are in many ways similar to those of Dr. Jackson and myself. This is partly due to the fact that both have been influenced by the well-known theories of Eduard Schwartz. The commentary, which covers 964 pages, is charmingly written with a peculiarly French incisiveness and brilliance. To point out that it has the defects of its qualities, and seems sometimes to omit considerations which point against the conclusions adopted, is merely to say that M. Loisy is French. The relative position of his book and my own may be discovered from the judgment of two critics. In reviewing 'The Beginnings of Christianity' the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Inge, expressed his kind conviction that we were not so bad as Burkitt or Loisy, and a French writer, whose name was not given but who at least belongs to the circle of M. Loisy, described us as being timorous rather than rash in our criticism. I rejoice at this evidence that we are walking in the middle of the road,—*in medio tutissimus ibis*,—though I admit that a walk between M. Loisy and the Dean of St. Paul's suggests to my mind excitement rather than safety.

The first of three volumes on the Origin and Beginnings of Christianity has just been published by Eduard Meyer, and contains his treatment of the gospels. Like Dr. Jackson and myself he regards the Lucan writings as the correct point at which investigations should begin, but instead of prefixing a superficial analysis of the gospels to the thorough study of Acts he has prefixed a superficial study of Acts to a thorough study of the gospels. Each method has its advantages, and it is, I think, a happy accident that we have gone different ways. Eduard Meyer expressly states that he has not studied much of the literature of the twentieth century, and hardly any of the nineteenth, on the subject which he is treating, and the

professional theologian will occasionally be surprised at the internal evidence of this fact. But it is only very stupid theologians, however learned they may be, who will think that this renders his book unimportant. Eduard Meyer is one of the greatest living students of ancient history, with an extremely wide knowledge of ancient literature. His ignorance of the modern treatment of the subject would debar his work from acceptance as a doctor's thesis in many of our universities, but it does not prevent him from writing a book which ought to be studied by all who are engaged in research into early Christian literature. The fact that both these statements are true may give rise to thought, and suggest that we are apt to pay too much attention to the books described as "secondary authorities," ("second hand" would be better) and to allow the memorized learning of modern books to be a substitute for an intelligent understanding of original sources.

Roland Schütz's book is of a somewhat different character. Its centre is a relatively small point in the literary criticism of Acts, but it spreads out into historical speculation, and the last chapter, though of only twenty-four pages, offers extremely suggestive, if not always convincing, prolegomena to a history of early Christianity. Few will agree with all of it; anyone can read it in a single hour; but it will need many hours of well-spent thought to formulate clearly the reasons for disagreement.

All these books have the value that whether right or wrong they are essentially constructive and are building on a common plan. It is more important to understand that plan and the reason why these books have appeared almost simultaneously than to discuss any of the details. The subject may perhaps best be dealt with, for the present purpose, by an explanation of the genesis of 'The Beginnings of Christianity.'

In the thirty years between 1860 and 1890, English theological scholarship was probably at as high a point as it reached during the nineteenth century. Bishop Lightfoot had achieved a position of leadership in the historical investigation of the documents of early Christianity, and the fame of Hort, Salmon, and Hatch had won recognition throughout Europe. Unfortunately Lightfoot never lived to complete the work which he had

begun, no successors were found to produce any historical commentaries comparable to his, while Hatch died prematurely, and Salmon and Hort produced but few books. Dr. Foakes Jackson and I had often discussed this lacuna in English scholarship, and in 1913 we determined to do what we could to organize an attempt to carry on, however imperfectly, the tradition of Lightfoot, and deal with the beginnings of Christianity in the light of modern knowledge, and with due regard to the problems at present most under discussion by the scholars of all countries.

The critical treatment of the Acts of the Apostles had remained especially backward in English books; it needed to be analyzed, and its evidence as to the growth of early Christian thought added to that derived from the similar treatment of the gospels and epistles. Something, but not enough, had been done on this subject in Germany, hardly anything in England. It therefore seemed obvious in 1913 that the next step called for was an historical commentary on Acts, not so much to disentangle geographical and archaeological riddles, for that had been done with extraordinary skill and success by Sir William Ramsay, but in order to analyze the forms of thought, especially in the earlier chapters, and to establish their relation to the earlier and later parts of the Synoptic tradition. For it is safe to say that the Synoptic tradition represents a process in which varying stages of development can be traced, much as a geologist traces stages by the fossils embedded in the various strata of the earth's surface.

Meanwhile the same conviction seems to have entered the mind of several writers on the Continent, and the books treated in this article are its result. This is not so obviously true of Johannes Weiss as of the others, but speaking generally all of these continental writers have the same object which marks the difference between the point of view of today and of yesterday. They are endeavouring to reconstruct the story of Christian origins, and are engaged in literary criticism merely because that is for the moment the most useful instrument. But it is not historical reconstruction merely in the sense of recovering a sequence of events, but rather what, for lack of an English

word, must be called *religionsgeschichtlich*. None of the group of writers mentioned care much whether Paul visited one place rather than another or whether Peter was put to death under Nero or not. Their real interest is that intertwining of more than one type of religion which produced Catholic Christianity. The documents are important because they represent varieties of religious experience which are as much alive today as they ever were, though the forms which they take are different.

This is of course quite well understood in America because American theology has always been largely influenced by German work, but in England the situation is different. No large contribution of this nature has been made by British scholars or is apparently likely to be made. They are going on in their own way, which has, indeed, many advantages, without appreciating and certainly without sharing in the general methods of continental and American scholarship. This was shown very plainly in the long article of Dr. Headlam in the *Church Quarterly Review* on 'The Beginnings of Christianity.' It calls for no rejoinder from those who are satisfied with the method of modern historical criticism, for he points out no mistakes and deals with no problems, but merely issues a general *non licet esse vos* which has no importance outside of Oxford; but it raises the interesting problem of why English scholarship has taken this turn with regard to New Testament criticism.

The situation cannot be understood without reference to the dispute which raged in the nineteenth century as to the Old Testament. That controversy may be presented thus: the tradition of Judaism stated, on the authority of its sacred book, that the Law had been given by God himself, through Moses; it was inspired and infallible. It had often been disobeyed; at one time it had been lost; but it had always existed, and the prophets had insisted on its tenets. No serious doubt had ever been thrown on this tradition until it occurred to some students of the Old Testament that the early literature of the Jewish church did not confirm it. On examination the Israelites of the time of the monarchy were seen to have lived without the Law in its complete form, and the prophets themselves

were found to have had no knowledge of it. Investigation revealed a long process of growth and accretion, in religious life, in theological thought, and in the extent and teaching of the sacred writings. Religious life had developed and changed from the days of the nomad Hebrews in the time of the patriarchs to those of the commercial Jews after the captivity. Theology had similarly changed; from a dim background of polytheism emerged the 'monolatry' of the ninth century, changing gradually to the monotheism of the sixth. The documents themselves proved to be composite, and the Law to be a compilation covering centuries of accretion. Neither thought nor practice had remained constant: Jewish religion does not tell the story of a faith once delivered to the saints, but of opinion gradually formed by them, with the occasional co-operation of sinners. Moreover the theory proved futile that the religion of Israel was a development of elements always latent. Every day made it plainer that Israel had borrowed not only jewels of silver and jewels of gold from the Egyptians but also less material possessions from Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, and Greece. There was — and is — room for fruitful inquiry as to the extent of the borrowing, none as to its reality.

All this is now the current coin of accepted thought, but since the Jewish tradition had been in the main adopted by the Christian church it is not strange that ecclesiastical opinion at first waxed hot in anger against the critics of the Old Testament. Nevertheless Oxford at least tolerated Driver and Cheyne, and Cambridge provided to Robertson Smith a shelter from the storm. The faithful consoled themselves with the thought that little harm had been done. Though the impregnable rock of the Old Testament had been shattered, the voice of the church declared the New Testament to be safe. A few divines, it is true, like Canon Liddon, who combined real understanding of critical results with tenacious adherence to tradition, maintained that the "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament must inevitably lead to the abandonment of the Catholic position as to the New Testament and the ministry of Jesus. But in general criticism made its way both in the church and in the universities. It was immensely helped by

the support lent for the time by the rising school of *Lux Mundi*, which regarded with complacency the overthrow of a book cherished by Jews and Protestants, but forgot — like Marcion — that their own church was built on the same foundation.

The results of literary and historical criticism were soon combined. An entirely new version of the history of Israel and its religion was adopted. In accordance, moreover, with a singular peculiarity of theologians, the infallibility formerly claimed for the letter of Holy Scripture was transferred to the new orthodox criticism of the Old Testament. Yet the real revolution was not the replacement of Moses by JE and P — or even by Canon Driver's *Introduction to the Old Testament* — but the recognition that the religion of Israel was a process, partly of accretion, and that its sacred books, being no more infallible than any others, could be used for historical research only in the light of intelligent criticism.

Here, however, a halt was called. Though Dr. Liddon was right in declaring that criticism could not leave the New Testament alone, if it were once allowed to touch the Old, there was for many years a belief that the textual criticism and the literary analysis of the gospels and Acts would have no such disturbing results as the treatment of the pentateuch. Those of us who passed through Dr. Sanday's seminar in the nineties, know how little was ever said by or to any of us as to the reconstruction of history made necessary by the recognition of the Synoptic problem. The theory — which has its attractiveness — was that all dangerous 'subjectivity' could best be avoided by completely accumulating the critical data before considering the difference — in any case unimportant — which they make to the traditional presentation of history.

We who left Oxford long ago have in general abandoned this view. We think that critical investigation and historical presentation ought to be parallel and simultaneous, and that the difference made is great and serious. We regret the increasing gulf between us and our old friends, yet it must be acknowledged that it is we and not they who have made the change, and it is probably good to have a body of scholars like Dr. Headlam, Canon Streeter, Mr. Emmet, and Mr. Major who

perpetuate in the twentieth century the tradition of the nineteenth. No doubt the fruitfulness of those methods is not exhausted, and much can be obtained from the whole-hearted pursuit of them by those whose attention is not distracted by any premature vision of the importance of their results for the history of religion. The essay by Canon Streeter in the *Hibbert Journal* for October is an admirable example of what may still be looked for from the Oxford school. But the wish may be expressed that some of his colleagues would join him in publishing the information which they must have accumulated in these long years of silent study.

The consideration of the books which have been mentioned as representing the continental method shows that Acts has acquired in the development of historical criticism somewhat the same position as the investigation of the prophets of the eighth century played in Old Testament criticism. It is the point at which it is possible to trace the combination of earlier and later elements. Its analysis by literary methods is a real help to the understanding of history. That it should be Acts which claims this position is rather surprising. Twenty years ago it seemed plain that it would be the Fourth Gospel which would be the centre of discussion. Indeed, for a time it was so, but the publication of several remarkable books, among which may be mentioned James Drummond's *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, E. F. Scott's *The Fourth Gospel, its Purpose and Theology*, and Loisy's fascinating *Le Quatrième Évangile* convinced almost everyone that the Fourth Gospel was so clearly 'on the other side' that its study would not answer the question of origin. In England this result was hastened by Sanday's article on Jesus Christ in *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible*. In this Dr. Sanday endeavoured to use the Fourth Gospel as a source for the life of Christ alongside of the Synoptic tradition, but even his skill, combined as it was with so sincere an appreciation of the difficulties, could not obscure the fact that he had put together mechanically what could not really be combined. It was understood that he was engaged on a Life of Christ for which this article was the first sketch, but to those who understood the problem

it was plain that the first sketch was a prophecy of failure rather than the promise of fulfilment, and it is said that Dr. Sanday lived to realize that this was so, repeating in this respect the experience of Dr. Salmon.¹ Thus it came about that throughout the theological world the conviction has grown almost without discussion that the Fourth Gospel is definitely a document of the Catholic Church. It illustrates and does not explain Christian origins.

It is perhaps worth while to emphasize the nature of this judgment. It is the recognition that by the time the Fourth Gospel was written Christianity was definitely sacramental, or, to use a different phraseology of exactly identical meaning, was a mystery religion. So much, indeed, is obvious to anyone who reads the Fourth Gospel with some knowledge of the other mystery religions. Objection to such a statement comes, however, from two sides. A considerable body of Protestants dislike to admit that the Bible is in any part of it on the side of a Catholic doctrine of the sacraments. They desire, to use a much abused phrase, to spiritualize the sacramental teaching of the Fourth Gospel into closer accord with Protestant principles. Other Protestants, especially in Germany, have endeavoured quite unconsciously to underestimate the importance of the Fourth Gospel, and to interpret the Synoptic gospels as though they were the true foundation of the church. The historian, however, is obliged to realize that from the second century to the sixteenth the Christian church was supported by three pillars, the belief in the Logos-Son, Baptism, and the Mass. These three pillars rest securely on the Fourth Gospel. No one of the three can be fully explained from the Synoptic gospels alone. That is an admirable proof that the Synoptic tradition is in the main historical; but it also shows that it is a problem to be explained rather than the starting-point of everything in Christianity.

But if Protestants for various reasons dislike the attitude represented by Loisy towards the Fourth Gospel and sacramental Christianity, orthodox Catholics equally dislike the

¹ Something of Dr. Sanday's later state of mind may be learned from his book, published in 1920, entitled 'Divine Overruling.'

cleavage between the Synoptic gospels and the Fourth. To bridge the gulf they endeavour to read into the Synoptic gospels the sacramental Christianity which Protestants try to leave out of the Fourth. The historian, not for the first time in the record of the Church, is in the difficult position of pleasing neither ecclesiastical party. Nevertheless I do not doubt but that such historians as Loisy are right. I only doubt what he himself would admit to be debatable, — the extent to which sacramental Christianity was accepted by Paul himself, as distinct from Paul's converts. How near in any case Pauline Christianity was to being a mystery cult can be seen by anyone who, apart from the writings of Loisy, reads the short but epoch-making treatise of Heitmüller and notes how feeble have been the attempts to answer him.

The Johannine writings, then, are 'on the other side,' but the Lucan ones are at the parting of the ways, or, more accurately, at the place where the roads join. What were those roads? Whence do they come? Which of them leads to the historic Jesus? Which of them was travelled by Paul? Why, having come together, do they join and not cross? These are some of the questions which have been discussed by the writers mentioned. They approach them from various angles, but all employ the literary criticism of the Synoptic gospels and Acts as their chief instrument, and all endeavour to translate their critical results into historical statements.

Eduard Meyer and Schütz, though differing on many points, agree in using as a criterion the distinction between the Apostles and the Disciples of Jesus. Though not wholly new this is a point which appears not to have received as much attention as it deserves. Its chief importance is this. It is tolerably plain that the word apostle in its limited meaning of 'one of the Twelve' is Lucan. It is, indeed, found in Matthew and Mark, but so rarely that it is a legitimate hypothesis that it is due to contamination either with the Lucan writings or, more probably, with the traditions which Luke used. It may be connected with the same development which makes the word 'Lord' characteristic of the Lucan writings. Schütz indeed argues that the Twelve were originally the witnesses of the

risen Jesus and that in the gospels their appointment has been dated before the event. The analysis of Acts suggests that the Antiochian source is a 'disciple' source while the Jerusalem sources are 'apostle' sources. Eduard Meyer, somewhat changing the terminology, thinks that this distinction can be traced in Mark. He distinguishes a 'disciple' source in Mark from another which speaks of 'the Twelve,' and shows that if we follow his discrimination we reach an originally purely 'disciple' document and one which was much more consistent and orderly than the present gospel, itself contaminated with the 'Twelve' material. Eduard Meyer and Schütz do not agree as to the details, but it is obvious that behind their two books lies the same general idea that the Twelve, whether called apostles or not, represent the church of Jerusalem, while the 'disciples' represent rather the unbroken tradition of the Galilean teaching of Jesus. Personally I am the more willing to think that this theory is not wholly wrong because it agrees with some observations of my own in *The Stewardship of Faith* pointing in the same direction. I there drew attention to the certainty, as it seems to me, that there were many hearers of Jesus in Galilee who were deeply impressed by his teaching and might fairly claim to be disciples but who never connected him with messianic expectations which he did not encourage during his ministry. His teaching on the kingdom of God, his continuation of the tradition of the prophets in spiritualizing the Law, and his eschatological expectation of imminent catastrophe for the prosperous wicked and rescue for the suffering righteous, — all these remained, but they were not the basis of a church distinct from the synagogue. To such disciples Jesus was the teacher, not the Messiah. That such a group of disciples existed seems to me certain not merely because of the traces found by Meyer and Schütz but on grounds of general probability.

At this stage a very important addition to the picture may be made from Johannes Weiss. By far the most interesting section in the newer part of his 'Urchristentum' is the section on the oldest gospel combined with his remarks in the earlier part of the book on the teaching of Jesus. He shows how the

Gospel of Mark is in one respect essentially not different from the Gospel of John. It is the gospel about Jesus, not the gospel which Jesus preached. It is true that according to Mark the gospel about Jesus is that he was the Messiah, whereas, according to John, it is that he is the Logos-Son, but the fact that the content of the two books is different ought not to obscure their identity of purpose, — to preach Jesus, not to continue his message. On the other hand, if there be any truth at all in most critical reconstructions, Q was the perpetuation of the teaching of Jesus, it was not a gospel concerning him. Johannes Weiss did not combine this result with the ideas defended later by Meyer and Schütz, but the possibility of such a combination is obvious. It would mean that the reason why Q contained no account of the passion and death of Jesus is that this Galilean Christianity followed Jesus as a prophet, not as the Messiah. The death of a prophet does not invalidate, it may be even thought to confirm, his message. It is even possible that they knew nothing of the resurrection. That Jesus was the Messiah, in whatever sense that often misunderstood word may be used, and that he was risen from the dead and seated at the right hand of power, was the special message of the community which, though perhaps of Galilean origin, found itself in Jerusalem. The apostles were witnesses to the resurrection, not the perpetuators of the teaching of Jesus. As time went on, the 'disciples,' that is to say, the Galilean followers of the teaching of Jesus, and the apostles, the preachers of the resurrection, came together and each group learned from the other. The literary counterpart of this synthesis is to be seen in the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke, which have each added large sections of the 'disciple' document Q to the apostolic document Mark.

Such would seem to be the general outlines of a theory of Christian origins formed by combining the results of Eduard Meyer, Schütz, and Johannes Weiss. It has the merit at least of explaining some things that otherwise are obscure, and it deserves careful attention. It curiously supplements 'The Beginnings of Christianity' at a point where the treatment in that book has been much condemned by some critics and

certainly caused much trouble to its writers. Starting with the Acts and investigating the gospels in order to see what light they throw on the story of Jesus regarded as the explanation of the origin of the church, the thing which seemed plainest was the little influence the teaching of Jesus had on the early church as represented by Acts. His teaching as distinct from the resurrection is scarcely mentioned. The same thing is true of the Pauline epistles; it is the death and resurrection of Jesus, not his teaching, which inspires Paul. Some of our critics in England, especially Dr. Inge, thought that we were wrong in saying so little about the teaching of Jesus and making it play so small a part in explaining the origin of the church. Nevertheless the facts are so, and if our critics would endeavour to prove out of the Acts and epistles that the teaching of Jesus played a larger part in the story of the origin of the church than we assigned it, they will discover that history is on our side. According to the tradition represented by the sources of Acts i-xv, Peter, Paul, Philip, Stephen, and Barnabas, who represent apostolic Christianity, did not say as much about the teaching of Jesus as we did in 'The Beginnings of Christianity.' When, therefore, such a critic as Mr. Emmet says that our statement is bad history, his accusation really lights on the head of Luke. Is he prepared to admit that Acts is bad history? If not, it would be better for him to join us in trying to understand the problem than to spend time in demolishing his own caricature of what we said.² That problem is not to explain away the facts as given in Acts, but to account for the survival of Q, which must have been the document of an important body of Christians, yet, nevertheless, did not affect Mark³ or the early chapters of Acts. Surely a not improbable answer is to postulate the Galilean origin of

² He states in the *Modern Churchman* that I represent Jesus as a man of second-rate importance who allowed his disciples to call him 'Sir.' It is of course easy to refute this representation. But it is not mine.

³ This would be denied by some critics, but I think that Wellhausen certainly has the better of Harnack on this point. In any case, even if it be not so, the influence of Q on Mark was small. Here too the suggestions of Wellhausen and Eduard Meyer as to the sources of Mark deserve further attention.

Q, thus combining the theories of Johannes Weiss and Schütz. The sequence of literary events would be the production in Jerusalem of the 'apostolic' tradition represented by Mark and by the sources of Acts i-xv and at the same time the production in Galilee of Q, which, in the language of Schütz, is in the main a 'disciple' document. The next stage brought the literary efforts of Matthew and Luke, both of whom united the apostolic tradition of Mark with Q.

The notable article by Canon Streeter in the Hibbert Journal presents facts which have to be taken into account in this connection. He argues that the basis of Luke is not really Mark but an already complete gospel into which Luke inserted some parts of Mark. His arguments cannot be reproduced here at length. They seem to me to be as convincing as any hypothesis of the kind can be. His view fits in admirably with that entertained by Harnack, accepted by Eduard Meyer, and I think probably right, to the effect that the writer of Acts made use of two separate Jerusalem traditions which appear dovetailed together in Acts i-v. Even better does it fit in with the view shared by Professor Burkitt and myself that the sounder of these traditions in Acts belongs to the same tradition and perhaps the same document as Mark. If Canon Streeter's view prove right, it is possible that we really have two complete Jerusalem traditions which Luke dovetailed together from the beginning of the Gospel to Acts v. It will then be a question whether it was he or some intermediate editor who made the combination with Q.

Two points remain upon which it does not at present seem to me necessary to go all the way with Meyer and Schütz. I doubt whether Mark ever was anything else than an 'apostolic' document, using the word 'apostolic' to mean emanating from that church which in Jerusalem was connected with the Twelve and especially with Peter. That Mark has a great deal to say about the disciples as distinct from the Twelve proves nothing, for the apostles had in any case been with Jesus in Galilee and had at that time been in the company of many 'disciples' who stayed in Galilee and did not go to Jerusalem. But Meyer's analysis of Mark will need prolonged and careful study.

Another point about which I am inclined to disagree with Schütz is the view which he takes of the relation of the Galilean disciples to Jesus on the one hand and to hellenistic Christianity, including Paul, on the other. His view is that Jesus had preached freedom from the Law in much the same way that Paul did later on. Paul is in this respect the true interpreter of Jesus, and apostolic Christianity is a Judaizing reaction. It is impossible to discuss this point at length. Schütz's suggestion would solve some problems, but at present I am inclined to think that hellenistic Christianity is, as Acts represents it to be, an offshoot of the Jerusalem church transplanted to Antioch in consequence of persecution and thence spreading. I doubt whether Paul can conceivably have been the product of Galilean Christianity, following the disciples of the teacher of Nazareth; for Paul, quite as clearly as Acts i-xv, preaches a crucified and risen Messiah, not a prophet or teacher.

All this question is, of course, intimately connected with the problem of Christology, which for this purpose means the discussion of the exact meaning and the history of the use of such phrases as 'Messiah,' 'Son of Man,' 'Lord,' etc., as applied to Jesus. It is here that 'The Beginnings of Christianity' will perhaps prove a useful supplement to the other books, for it endeavours to distinguish the varieties of christological statement more narrowly than do any of the other works. The general result reached is the same as that assumed by Schütz, namely that Jesus probably did not use the phrase 'Son of Man' (in the messianic sense) of himself, but that the apostles certainly did apply it to him.

All these books are concerned with the translation of critical results into historical statements. The next stage in the natural development of thought on this problem will be a translation into terms of religion. One form which this is likely to take is indicated in the German books, which imply, as though it were self-evident, that the teaching of Jesus is the really important and permanent element and that the apostolic church was a regrettable incident. To accept this position is pure Marcionism, for it means that we can afford to take a whole era of history and condemn it. If these writers be correct, Jesus was a

human being with no essential claim to be regarded as divine in a sense different from other men. He never claimed to be the Messiah or the Logos. He wrought no miracles, but he was a teacher who made a final revelation of spiritual and moral truth which the world had not known before and cannot gain elsewhere. Even if this is not Marcionism, it is surely wrong; for a non-miraculous human being cannot have given teaching sufficient for all ages. Schütz seems to think that this is the tradition of Paul and Luther. One regrets that it is impossible to hear what Luther or Paul would have said on the subject, for even if they had not added to our understanding of theology they would at least have enriched the literature of invective. If Jesus be a teacher and not divine, and there is much to be said for this view, theologians must have the courage of their opinions, place Jesus in the line of teachers and prophets which will never end while the world lasts, and take his teachings as a landmark in history, not as its goal. This position, whether right or wrong, is at least not unreasonable. It is the alternative to traditional orthodox Christianity. What seems to me historically and philosophically absurd is the position expounded by Dr. Rashdall, Dean of Carlisle, who at the meeting of the Modern Churchmen's Union in 1921 explained that of course Jesus did not regard himself as the Messiah or as God, but apparently (he is not very clear) thinks that nevertheless the church was right in giving that rank to him, and that Chalcedonian doctrine, properly understood, is still tenable. It is possible that the church understood the nature of Jesus better than the Lord himself, but the most radical critics and the simplest Christians will probably agree in preferring what each of them in his own way believes to be Jesus' own view.

Those, however, who feel obliged to accept the results of criticism so far as Jesus is concerned, yet who are compelled by the verdict of history, as well as by their own experience, to assert the preëminence of Christianity, and especially of Catholic Christianity, in the history of religion, are forced to give a reason for the faith that is in them. It is a mistake to suppose that they do not appreciate the value of the teaching

of Jesus. On the contrary, they are perfectly well aware that the world has never yet recognized his full importance. That men should love their enemies and do good to their neighbors may sound a simple creed, to be sneered at as commonplace and jejune, but the world would be changed more rapidly if such teaching were followed than by anything else that the mind can conceive, and it was not a critic of the twentieth century but Jesus himself who expressed a preference for those who tried thus to live over those who called him Lord.

Nevertheless the church never has been merely an institution for propagating this or any other form of teaching. It has been a great instrument for the purification of men's minds and souls. It has been, such at least must be the verdict of history, neither infallible nor indefectible in endeavouring to fulfil this mission, but there has never been any institution which has met with so much success. As generation after generation of Catholics went on their way through the world, they endeavoured to follow moral teaching, which was no new thing, (so the historian of religion asserts, and here Eusebius of Caesarea agrees with him), but came from the prophets through Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples. But on their way through the world the friction and the pressure of life brought with it many impurities, the swell of passion, the blindness of temper, and the thrust of desire. Those impurities could not be overcome by the appeal of reason, which had rejected them in advance. The cure was psychological, not intellectual, and it was contributed to the Christian church neither by Jesus nor by the Jews but by the gentiles. It was the sacramental system, the mysteries, which in the main gave men what they needed, purification and strength that they might follow the moral vision which they had seen. Lutheran, and even Calvinistic, Christianity changed the theory but not the practice. It still remains true that the orthodox churches are shown by experience to give purification, though reason may show that they do not give intellectual truth. To explain why this is so is the great problem before the theologians and psychologists of the future.

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LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND THE
SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1914-1920

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PROFESSOR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN LEIDEN, HOLLAND

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAB	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
AGW	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
AR	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
BFTb	Beiträge zur Förderung der christlichen Theologie.
BibZ	Biblische Zeitschrift.
BphW	Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.
BSt	Biblische Studien.
ChrW	Die Christliche Welt.
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
Exp	The Expositor.
GereThT	Tijdschrift voor gereformeerde Theologie.
GGA	Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.
HThR	The Harvard Theological Review.
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift.
JThSt	The Journal of Theological Studies.
KRefSchw	Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz.
LZBl	Literarisches Zentralblatt.
NGW	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NJklA	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
NkZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NoTT	Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift.
NThSt	Nieuwe Theologische Studien.
NThT	Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift.
PalJ	Palästinajahrbuch.
PrJ	Preussische Jahrbücher.
PrM	Protestantische Monatshefte.
RC	Revue critique.
RhM	Rheinisches Museum.
SAB	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Berlin.
SAH	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Heidelberg.
SchwThZ	Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift.
ThGg	Die Theologie der Gegenwart.

ThLBl	Theologisches Literaturblatt.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
ThR	Theologische Rundschau.
ThRev	Theologische Revue.
ThSt	Theologische Studien.
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
ThT	Theologisch Tijdschrift.
TT	Teologisk Tidskrift.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen.
WklPh	Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZMR	Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
ZwTh	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

If the scholars of various countries are to enter once more into the old fellowship of a common task, which was interrupted by the war, one of the first requirements is that all the national groups should acquaint themselves with the work done in the interval by the others. In the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1921, I published for the benefit of German scholars a survey of English and American literature on the New Testament from 1914 to 1920, and I have been glad to prepare likewise for this Review, and so for American and English colleagues, a critical account of the most important works on the New Testament produced during these years in Germany and the other countries named in the title of this article.¹

¹ In consequence of the War two important bibliographical periodicals have unhappily been compelled to suspend publication, the *Theologische Rundschau*, in 1917, and the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, the last issues of which appeared in 1914 and contain a survey of theological literature for 1913. The following are still maintained: *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig, Hinrichs); *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (Leipzig, Dörffling und Franke); *Die Theologie der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, Deichert), of which one number in the year is devoted to the New Testament; *Biblische Zeitschrift* (Freiburg, Herder; Roman Catholic); *Theologische Revue* (Münster, Aschendorff; Rom. Cath.). For a very short survey see A. Jülicher, *Das Neue Testament* (*Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte* VI, pp. 27-45, Gotha, Perthes, 1921).

I. GENERAL

1. INTRODUCTIONS

Knopf, R., Einführung in das N. T. (Sammlung Töpelmann: Die Theologie im Abriss 2). 394 pp. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1919. — *Feine, P.*, Einleitung in das N. T. 2. Aufl. 259 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1918. — *Barth, F.*, Einleitung in das N. T. 4. und 5. Aufl. 494 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1920. — *Kolmodin, Ad.*, Inledning till Nya Testamentets skrifter. I. viii, 432 pp. Stockholm, 1915 (see Deissner, ThGg, 1915, 330 f.; ThLZ, 1915, 463 f.). — *Clemen, C.*, Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments (Sammlung Göschen 235). 2. Aufl. 167 pp. 1919. — *Sickenberger, J.*, Kurzgefasste Einleitung in das Neue Testament. 2. Aufl. 166 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. — *Van Veldhuizen, A.*, Het Nieuwe Testament (Bijbelsch-kerkelijk woordenboek II). 316 pp. Groningen, den Haag, Wolters, 1920.

The New Testament Introduction of R. Knopf (Bonn, † 1920) was meant primarily as a rapid survey for men in service in the war, like the other volumes of its series. But it may well be of use to other students and even to scholars, for it gives an admirable untechnical and lucid exposition of the discipline and of the present state of research, with literary references. It covers the language of the N. T.; the text; primitive Christian literature; the canon of the N. T.; contemporary history of the N. T. (political and religious); and the beginnings of Christianity. The criticism of the gospels is discussed in much detail, and it is interesting to observe that Knopf gives the reader his choice of various solutions of the problem of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, including the theory that the unknown author himself wrote under the mask of the Apostle John. The chapter on the text is relatively full, and is excellent in contents, although the lack of an introduction to von Soden's textual work is a defect. The last part (pp. 226–388) gives a short history of early Christianity, including Jesus and his teachings, the apostolic, and the post-apostolic period. In the teaching of Jesus several points, such as the kingdom of God and Jesus' idea of his own person, are thoroughly discussed. Knopf follows J. Weiss in his thorough-going eschatological view of the idea of the kingdom; he believes that Jesus designated himself as messiah and Son of Man, but that it is no longer possible for us to fix exactly the sense in which he used the two terms. In his exposition of Pauline theology his pro-

test against a one-sided exaggeration of the difference of Paul from Jesus is noteworthy. The book thus constitutes a very excellent introduction — it does not pretend to be more — and will stimulate to deeper study of the problems. See M. Dibelius, *ThLZ*, 1920, No. 9–10.

A new and complete critical introduction to the New Testament is much needed. Jülicher has unfortunately been unable to make a revision of his excellent book; the edition of 1906 is still kept in print. *Feine's* book in a new edition does not meet the need, for it keeps too close to tradition. It has, however, its own value, and the new edition is in many respects an improvement. That it refers to the more recent literature is its great advantage over Jülicher. In spite of a tendency to moderate the concessions made to criticism in the earlier edition, some chapters, such as that on the Synoptic question, are very good. See Windisch, *ThT*, 1918, 310 ff.; Deissner, *ThGg*, 1918.

The Introduction by *F. Barth* (professor at Bern, † 1912), reprinted from the 2d edition (1911), with some references (pp. 470–473) to recent literature added by his son, contributes even less than *Feine* to the understanding of critical problems, but forms a good guide to the contents of the books of the New Testament.

Clemen's little book is a new edition with few changes, in which only the historical books are treated in any detail. *Clemen* gives solely his own views. Particularly worth reading are the sections on the Johannine writings.

J. Sickenberger (Roman Catholic professor at Breslau) gives a brief compendium of New Testament introduction (first published in 1916) from the Catholic point of view by a scholar well acquainted with Protestant literature. His solution of the Synoptic problem is interesting. He distinguishes between the (Aramaic and Greek) original Matthew and our canonical Matthew; Matthew and Luke both represent combinations of the (Greek) original Matthew with Mark.

The lexicon of *van Veldhuizen* (professor at Groningen) is a sort of Bible dictionary of the New Testament, including a biographical dictionary of the more important New Testa-

ment scholars, with a fuller treatment of Netherlands. The articles, mainly intended for the general reader, contain many references to Netherlands contributions to New Testament research, which may well make it of use to English-speaking readers.

2. TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Groenen, P. G. Algemeene Inleiding tot de Heilige Schrift. Geschiedenis van den Text. 375 pp. Leiden, Théonville, 1917. — *Pott, A.*, Der Text des Neuen Testaments (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt 134). 2. Aufl. 116 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1919. — *Novum Testamentum Graece. Textum recensuit, apparatus criticum ex editionibus et codicibus manuscriptis collectum addidit H. J. Vogels.* xvi, 661 pp. Dusseldorf, Schwann, 1920. — *Preuschen, E.*, Untersuchungen zum Diatessaron Tatians (SAH, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1918). 63 pp. — *Pott, A.*, De textu evangeliorum in saeculo secundo (Mnemosyne, 1920, 267–309, 339–365). Leiden, Brill. — *Vogels, H. J.*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessarons im Abendland (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 8). viii, 152 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1919. — *Harnack, A. von*, Zur Revision der neutestamentlichen Textkritik. Die Bedeutung der Vulgata für den Text der katholischen Briefe und der Anteil des Hieronymus an dem Übersetzungswerk (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das N. T. 7). 130 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. — *Harnack, A. von*, Studien zur Vulgata des Hebräerbriefs (SAB, 1920, 179–201). — *Lietzmann, H.*, Die Vorlage der gotischen Bibel (ZDA 56, n. f. 44, 249–278). — *Klein, O.*, Syrisch-griechisches Wörterbuch zu den vier kanonischen Evangelien nebst einleitenden Untersuchungen (Beihefte zur ZAW 28). 123 pp. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1916.

A general survey of the history of the text of the Old and New Testament from the Catholic point of view is given by *Groenen*. He treats the versions in special detail (pp. 132–361; *per contra* the Hebrew text, pp. 39–58, the Greek, pp. 59–112), and of the versions gives most space to the Latin and the Netherlands. These sections are also of interest to students outside of Holland. The author confines himself mainly to historical information and an account of what has been done in the field.

A. Pott, who is now one of the best informed textual critics in Germany, has published a new edition of his popular history of the text of the New Testament, in which his discussion of von Soden's text is of special interest.¹ He entirely rejects von Soden's hypotheses about the text of Tatian and of Marcion.

¹ On von Soden's hand-edition, see H. Lietzmann, ZNW, 1914, 323–331; R. Knopf, GGA, 1917, 385–408; E. Preuschen, BphW, 1917, No. 37.

He himself has a predilection for the Western Text, which he believes to be pre-canonical.

A new edition of the text of the New Testament is that of *H. J. Vogels*, one of the ablest of the Catholic textual critics. It is patterned after Nestle's edition; but does not indicate Old Testament quotations by special type, and (an improvement) mentions in the apparatus the most important variants with only their ancient witnesses. In the text Vogels largely coincides with von Soden, although he does not share the latter's methods and views. His favorable judgment of the Vulgate and his caution with regard to the Arabic Diatessaron are noteworthy. See Pott, *ThLZ*, 1921, No. 3-4; Souter, *JThSt*, 1921, 174 f.

The thesis of von Soden that the ruin of the text of the gospels was largely due to the bad influence of the Diatessaron has necessitated a fresh investigation of Tatian. *E. Preuschen* (†1920) had planned a new edition, but left the work uncompleted at his death. His valuable article, 'Das Diatessaron und seine Bedeutung für die Textkritik der Evangelien,' draws attention to a certain kinship between Tatian and Marcion, explains the method of Tatian, with various examples, and, in opposition to Zahn, argues that the Diatessaron was originally written in Greek. His hypothesis that Tatian first collected the four gospels is unsatisfactory. It is to be hoped that some scholar will soon complete Preuschen's interrupted task.

Also from the competent pen of *A. Pott* von Soden's Tatian hypothesis meets criticism. Von Soden holds that the witnesses for the I (I^a)-text (D it af sy^{ae}) have all been influenced by Tatian. Pott objects that von Soden is inconsistent in defining the I-text, since in the course of his investigation he assigns the above-named witnesses to the degenerate textual form I^a, and in actually constituting the I-text gives the preference to a group Φ , to which Eusebius is closely related. He also shows how untrustworthy is von Soden's method of determining the readings of Tatian, so that the great influence which he ascribes to Tatian is improbable. Equally unjustifiable is von Soden's treatment of the readings of Marcion, which he has mainly drawn from the above-named witnesses, but has used wrongly.

Pott's view is that (Justin), Tatian, and Marcion (and likewise D it syr.vet) attest a common second-century text, akin to the parallel recension of Acts (this last being also mistakenly regarded by von Soden as related to Tatian).

H. J. Vogels supports the theory of an Old Latin Diatesaron, relying on the Old Latin readings of the gospel harmony of Codex Fuldensis and those of a later Latin harmony found in two Munich manuscripts (14th century). The variants are presented in long lists. The theory is that Victor of Capua had a Latin harmony, which he revised, and that this harmony was the oldest Latin version of the gospels — an hypothesis which as yet lacks verification. Vogels agrees with von Soden that all variants from the Greek occurring in the Old Latin and Old Syriac texts go back to Tatian. See Hans von Soden, *ThLZ*, 1920, No. 15-16.¹

Harnack illustrates from the Catholic Epistles and Hebrews the contention that more than in the past the text of the Vulgate must be regarded as a reliable witness. In the Catholic Epistles, as he tries to show, the Vulgate text rests on a very old Latin interlinear translation, somewhat improved in style, but well preserved. In nearly thirty cases he would prefer the Vulgate reading to the text of the modern editors (very remarkable, but doubtful, is the longer text found in the Vulgate in 1 Peter 3, 22). The conclusion from this study is that Codex Vaticanus is to be subordinated to Codex Alexandrinus and the versions. Harnack prints in full a Greek text in the form which he believes to be represented by Jerome in his Vulgate. See H. Lietzmann, *ThLZ*, 1916, No. 15.

The comparison of the Vulgate of Hebrews with the Old Latin translation shows, as *Harnack* points out in his other essay, that Jerome kept close to the Old Latin; he took as his basis the exemplar of d, used r for comparison, and inserted corrections of his own. According to Harnack it cannot be proved that he also used a Greek text. This last point calls for further research.

¹ For other contributions to the textual criticism of Vogels, see *BiblZ*, 1914, pp. 369 ff.; 1915, 322 ff.; 1916, 34 ff.; 1921, 301 ff. Cf. also J. Schäfers *Evangelienstadien in Ephrums des Syrers Kommentar zu den paulinischen Briefen* (Freiburg, Herder, 1917).

Lietzmann's examination of the Gothic version, particularly in the epistles of Paul, leads him to pronounce it an important representative of the oldest Koine. Every Gothic reading, he holds, must be treated as a Koine-reading, if it can be found in any other representative of the old Koine. The two forms A and B of the Gothic Bible are independent branches of a tradition, and neither of them is a new redaction. The hypothesis of Kauffmann, that the text of Ulfilas was later revised with the Latin Bible as a basis, cannot be proved: Ulfilas may himself have possessed a text of the Koine which had been subjected to Latin influence, or he may have consulted the Latin Bible, just as the omission of Hebrews in his New Testament is a sure proof of Latin influence.

The Syriac-Greek lexicon to the Gospels by *O. Klein* gives, with translation, the Greek equivalent for every Syriac word in the various Syriac translations. A Greek-Syriac index gives the pages on which the Greek word stands as an equivalent. Unfortunately the information is very unreliable, but if used cautiously the book may be of service. See *K. Brockelmann*, *LZBl*, 1917; *E. Preuschen*, *ThLZ*, 1917, No. 22-23; *H. Gressmann*, *DLZ*, 1918, No. 6; *Elhorst*, *NThT*, 1921.

3. NEW TESTAMENT PHILOLOGY

Cremer, H., *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräzität*. 10. Aufl., herausg. von *J. Kögel*. xx, 1230 pp. Gotha, Perthes, 1911-1915. — *Blass, F. - Debrunner, A.*, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. 5. Aufl. xviii, 336 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1921. — *Meyer, P. M.*, *Griechische Texte aus Aegypten*. I. Papyri des neutestamentlichen Seminars der Universität Berlin; II. Ostraka der Sammlung Deissmann. xiii, 233 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1918. — *Schütz, R.*, *Der parallele Bau der Satzglieder im Neuen Testament und seine Verwertung für die Textkritik und Exegese (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, n. f. 11)*. 27 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1920.

J. Kögel's very careful revision of *Cremer's* lexicon was begun in 1911 and finally completed in 1915. In this form the lexicon is an indispensable aid to all students of the New Testament; it has no rival. Its chief defect is that the editor has been too restrained in altering the character of *Cremer's* work, has not sufficiently used non-literary texts and the Apostolic

Fathers, and takes so little account of modern linguistic study and of the history of religions. Important articles such as *σωτήρ*, *σφραγίς*, are consequently unsatisfactory. The point of view is still too much that of Biblical literalism. See Wohlenberg, *ThLBl*, 1915, No. 24; *ThGg*, 1915.

The new edition of *Blass's* grammar has undergone no important changes, — only small additions, balanced by omissions.

The Berlin Greek Texts from Egypt, which we owe to *P. M. Meyer*, is a valuable addition to our knowledge of non-literary Koine texts and yields some fruit directly applicable to New Testament lexicography. The texts comprise documents of commercial life in Egypt, texts from the Decian persecution, and some very valuable letters, besides ostraka, — these last being mainly receipts for rent, including some Jewish ones. The texts are provided with a detailed commentary, in which frequent reference is made to their bearing on the New Testament, linguistically and otherwise; Deissmann has added important notes. See K. F. W. Schmidt, *WklPh*, 1916, No. 40; Windisch, *ThLZ*, 1917, No. 13.

R. Schütz's study of rhythmic structure in the New Testament is unfortunately merely a torso. He shows how, following the tendency of the Koine to introduce into prose poetic parallelism and kindred forms, gospels and epistles show much rhythmic structure, so that they consist of strophes and cola, the reconstruction of which may contribute to the solution of exegetical and critical questions. In pursuance of a suggestion of Eduard Norden, he prints larger and smaller sections in cola, which makes his thesis convincing. Reasons of rhythm lead him, for instance, to excise Mk. 2, 21 f. *τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ* as a gloss, likewise Mk. 4, 25 *καὶ ὁ ἔχει*. Rhythmical considerations may be decisive also as to the connection of clauses, as Schütz makes clear in 1 Cor. 7, 33 f., 36–38; 10, 16, etc. See Dibelius, *ThLZ*, 1920, No. 25–26.

4. COMMENTARIES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

In Meyer's Commentary (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht) as 7th edition of the volume on James a wholly new work by *M. Dibelius* was published in 1921.

In Lietzmann's Handbuch zum N. T. (Tübingen, Mohr), *E. Klostermann's* Luke was published in 1919, leaving only Heitmüller's Apocalypse to complete the work; and a second edition of *Lietzmann's* Romans (see below, p. 179) appeared in the same year. A supplementary volume will contain the Apostolic Fathers, and of this the following parts have appeared: *R. Knopf*, Didache, 1 and 2 Clement (pp. 1-184), 1920; *W. Bauer*, Ignatius and Polycarp (pp. 185-298), 1920; *H. Windisch*, Barnabas (pp. 299-413), 1920. This volume is like those on the New Testament, with introduction, translation, commentary, excursus, and epilogue.

The commentary on the New Testament edited by Theodor Zahn (Leipzig, Deichert) has two new volumes: G. Wohlenberg (†1917), 1 and 2 Peter and Jude (iv, 345 pp.), 1915, and Th. Zahn, Acts, chaps. 1-12 (pp. 1-394), 1919; chaps. 13-28, (pp. 395-884), 1921. *Wohlenberg's* exegesis rests, as usual, on a very careful and learned treatment of the text. He follows the Erlangen traditions, not without new variations of his own. 1 Peter was written by Silvanus under Peter's supervision in A.D. 64; somewhat earlier, probably originally in Hebrew (Wohlenberg thinks he has proof for this), Peter wrote 2 Peter, presumably for Christians in Galilee and the neighboring country. To the convincing grounds for the later, non-apostolic origin of 2 Peter Wohlenberg does not do justice. Jude was written after 2 Peter.

Zahn's new commentary shows all the merits and defects which distinguish the works of this great scholar. The treatment of the text presupposes the results reached in his "Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte" (see below p. 164). The first five chapters are very detailed; further on the comment is often cursory and, as often in Zahn's other commentaries, leaves important questions untouched — particularly those of exegesis and historical criticism.

The following volumes of Zahn's series have appeared in new editions: *Th. Zahn*, Luke, 3d and 4th ed. (774 pp.), 1920; *Th. Zahn*, John, 5th and 6th ed. (733 pp.), 1921; *Ph. Bachmann*, 2 Corinthians, 3d ed. (435 pp.), 1918; *P. Ewald*, Philippians, 3d ed., brought out by G. Wohlenberg with an introduction by Zahn, 237 pp., 1917.

The widely-used commentary, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt*, edited, after the death of J. Weiss, by W. Bousset and W. Heitmüller, has appeared in a third edition (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1917-18). It is meant for lay readers, but is full of suggestion for scholars. The new edition is in four volumes. In Vol. I (Synoptics) the editors have here and there added remarks pertaining to the history of religions. In Vol. III (Acts, Hebrews, Catholic Epistles) Bousset has inserted in James interesting explanations drawn from the history of religions. In Vol. IV (John,—Gospel, Epistles, Apocalypse; with the Index) Heitmüller has revised his exposition of the Gospel, as well as that of the Apocalypse contributed by J. Weiss. The whole work is a characteristic document of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* in Germany; it unites the point of view of the history of religions with insistence on the religious value of the New Testament writings.

Of the corresponding Catholic work, *Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments* (Bonn, Hanstein) the following parts have recently appeared: *P. Dausch*, The three older Gospels, 1918; *F. Tillmann*, John, 1918; 2d ed. (292 pp.), 1921; *A. Steinmann*, Acts, 2d ed. (244 pp.), 1916; *A. Steinmann*, Thessalonians and Galatians (124 pp.), 1921; *J. Sickenberger*, Corinthians and Romans, 1919; 2d ed. (291 pp.), 1921; *M. Meinertz* and *F. Tillmann*, Epistles of the Imprisonment, 1918; *M. Meinertz*, Pastoral Epistles (101 pp.), 1916; *J. Rohr*, *M. Meinertz*, and *W. Vrede*, Hebrews, Catholic Epistles, Revelation (385 pp.), 1918.

A new undertaking is *Tekst en Uitleg. Praktische Bijbelverklaring*, edited by F. Böhl and A. van Veldhuizen (Groningen, den Haag, Wolters). The small, attractive volumes (usually 144 pages) contain an introduction, a new translation, and a brief

interpretation (often merely a paraphrase). For the New Testament have appeared *J. A. C. van Leeuwen*, Matthew, 1915; 2d ed., 1918 (very dependent on Zahn); *A. van Veldhuizen*, Mark, 1914; 2d ed., 1918; *J. de Zwaan*, Luke, 1917 (many valuable remarks in spite of limited space; the historical criticism is not always convincing); *J. de Zwaan*, Acts (154 pp.), 1920 (introduction and exegesis interesting from the point of view of the history of religions; see Windisch, ThLZ, 1921); *A. van Veldhuizen*, Paul; Romans, Corinthians, 1916; 2d ed., 1918 (with full bibliography); *H. M. van Nes*, Galatians - Philemon, 1919; *J. Willemze*, 2 Peter, Epistles of John, Jude, 1919 (with detailed anti-critical introductions; defends the genuineness of the *comma johanneum*); cf. ThLZ, 1920, No. 11/12.

II. THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

1. LITERARY CRITICISM

A

Cladder, H. J., Unsere Evangelien. I: Zur Literaturgeschichte der Evangelien. viii, 262 pp. Freiburg im B., Herder, 1919. — *Soiron, Th.*, Die Logia Jesu. Eine literarkritische und literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum synoptischen Problem (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 6). vi, 174 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1916. — *Schmidt, K. L.*, Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu. Literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung. xviii, 322 pp. Berlin, Trowitsch, 1919. — *Dibelius, M.*, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, 108 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. — *Bauernfeind, O.*, Die literarische Form des Evangeliums (dissertation). 95 pp. Greifswald, 1915.

B

Drescher, R., Das Markusevangelium und seine Entstehung (ZNW 17, 228-256). — *Meyer, E.*, Das Markusevangelium und seine Quellen (SAB, 1918).

Cladder's posthumous work on the gospels has been compiled from lectures prepared for Catholic theological students at the front. He often goes his own way — as in his adoption of the theory of a one-year ministry of Jesus, in the arrangement of the contents of Matthew, the explanation of how Mark was excerpted from Matthew, or the assumption that Luke used Matthew and derived his special material from the Apostle John, and that John is to be understood from Mark, whom he interpreted and expanded in opposition to the misrepresentations of Cerinthus. See BiblZ, 15, 361.

The most interesting study of the Synoptic question which appeared during the war is the book of the Franciscan father *Soiron*. As is well known, the papal Biblical Commission in 1911 condemned the theory of two sources. Hence a demonstration of the falsity of the hypothesis that Matthew and Luke used a collection of Jesus' words has become a necessity for Catholic science,¹ while in Protestant circles at the same time the theory has been under vigorous attack. *Soiron's* main argument is that the relation of the groups of sayings in Matthew and Luke can best be explained by the special circumstances of oral tradition; and he investigates the particular fashion in which oral tradition attaches together disparate materials by arbitrary mnemonic association. A very good analogy is to be seen in rabbinical tradition, which developed an astonishing virtuosity in retaining in the memory great masses of material. *Soiron* shows how in the discourses of Jesus the single words and groups of sayings are grouped by subject-matter and by catchwords. This would have taken place in oral instruction. It is most instructive to analyse from this point of view the larger and smaller groups of sayings in Matthew and Luke (and in Mark as well), and to follow the various ways in which the catchword-method is applied. *Soiron* holds that this practice makes the theory of sources superfluous; but he overlooks the fact that the principle of association would be equally followed in the case of the written collection of Jesus' sayings, so that the argument has no force against the theory of common written sources. The question remains whether the more general order and arrangement of the sayings in Matthew and in Luke is such that the laws and possibilities of oral tradition explain the situation in both gospels. The proof of this *Soiron* does not give.

Soiron also thinks that the doublets in Matthew and Luke can be used as evidence against the hypothesis of the 'Logia,' since they show how a double association could cause the same saying to appear in two places, as for instance, Matt. 5, 29 f., in attachment to the word *βλέπειν*, and 18, 8 f., to the word

¹ See also P. Dausch, *Die Zweiquellen-theorie und die Glaubwürdigkeit der drei älteren Evangelien* (Biblische Zeitfragen 7). Münster, Aschendorff, 1915.

σκάνδαλον. This is noteworthy; but of many doublets it can be shown that they occur once in a Markan context, the other time in a Logia-context, and this confirms the theory of two sources. Soiron's book deserves to be followed up, but it does not overthrow the theory now widely accepted. See Windisch, DLZ, 1918, No. 27-28; Bultmann, ThLZ, 1918, No. 19-20.

More interesting at present than the Synoptic problem is the investigation of the literary character of the gospels and of their component material. *Schmidt* starts from the view that the gospel stories were originally transmitted separately as single narratives, and that their collection in a gospel was the work of the evangelist. By the 'frame,' is meant the scheme of the gospel, the arrangement of material, with the consequent view of the course of Jesus' activity and of the succession of his deeds; but the term also includes the transitional, introductory, and concluding formulas by which the separate stories are joined to one another. Schmidt minutely examines these schemes and forms, especially for Mark, as well as the evangelists' literary art embodied in them, with the result that in the 'frame,' taken in its widest sense, we find not so much historical tradition as a literary product, which can of course be used for the reconstruction of history only with the greatest caution. "The oldest tradition of Jesus is the tradition of pericopes, a tradition of individual scenes and utterances, handed down in the church and for the most part lacking any definite indication of time or place." The gospels aim at an itinerary, a continuous report of Jesus' deeds and journeys, but this was the work of an author or compiler, and of the actual course of events only a fragmentary knowledge has been preserved. Schmidt remarks that with this understanding of the composition of our gospels we can scarcely expect to determine the duration of Jesus' ministry or the calendar date of the single incidents. The question also arises whether the distribution of the traditions between a Galilean period and a short visit to Jerusalem is right, and Schmidt discusses this, taking into consideration the divergent scheme of John. It is interesting to note that in the 'frame,' that is, in the transitional passages, much textual variation is found, a fact which shows the im-

portance of the 'frame' for the composition of the whole gospel. It is here evident afresh that the story of the passion differs in its literary character from the great central portion of the gospels. While the other pericopes with few exceptions were transmitted without note of place, time, or connection, we find in the story of the passion a closer connection between the pericopes, and more exact statements of place and time. Schmidt well urges that this narrative is of the type of acts of martyrs, which ordinarily give a continuous narrative of the martyr's sufferings. See E. Lohmeyer, *DLZ*, 1920, No. 19-20; H. Windisch, *Museum* (Leiden), August-September, 1920; J. Kögel, *ThLBl*, 1920, No. 6; R. Steck, *SchwThZ*, 1919, pp. 180 f.; J. de Zwaan, *NThSt*, 1920, pp. 119 ff.; G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *NThT*, 1920.

While Schmidt limits himself to the composition of the gospels and the introductory and final sentences of the single pericopes, *M. Dibelius* takes up the various literary types of evangelical tradition, which he tries to define strictly and to connect with the original use of these sections in the practice and missionary work of the church. Mainly from the speeches of Acts (other testimony could also be adduced) he shows how the gospel stories were woven into the texture of apostolic sermons as didactic and apologetic illustrations. One definite type of gospel stories, which he thinks gained their specific form in didactic discourse, he terms 'paradigms,' that is, brief narratives with only the most necessary notes of situation and occasion; in these all the emphasis is put on a doctrinal decision or a moral rule (cf. Mark 2,1-3, 6; 11, 27 ff.). From these are clearly distinguished stories of greater length, furnished with much vivid picturesque detail, which may be designated as 'novels'; this sort are of less value for instruction and preaching, and serve rather for entertainment, to satisfy curiosity, and please the fancy. They contain more of the legendary and mythical. Mark likes these 'novels,' while Matthew is inclined to eliminate the 'novelistic' traits, and to alter the stories into 'paradigms.' When the narratives were collected and compiled into a gospel, the evangelist expanded them by explanatory additions; new pericopes, too, came into being,

such as the so-called *Sammelberichte*, and the undated and unlocated prophecies of the passion, which stamped a pragmatism on the material and expressed a theological tendency. Thus Mark gave his gospel a special character which had not originally belonged to the stories; the history is presented as a succession of secret epiphanies; the deeds of Jesus are understood only by the initiated. Mark has also spread over a large part of his gospel a twilight-glow of myth; his hero has become a god, who reveals his divine power and authority, although the figure of the teacher and human worker of miracles still shows beneath the retouching.

This account will make clear the fruitfulness of the definitions and constructions employed in this book. The work is not final; many of the definitions are too clear cut, and the author has not fully used the analogies from Jewish rabbinical literature and Greek philosophical tradition. But he has shown a way which later students must follow. See Bultmann, *ThLZ*, 1919, No. 15-16; P. Fiebig, *LZBl*, 1919, No. 22; Windisch, *ThT*, 1919, 371 ff.

O. Bauernfeind's dissertation, while not without merit, does not touch the real problems.

B

Of the individual gospels Mark has been studied by *R. Drescher*, who finds the purpose of the author revealed in chapter 13, and takes that chapter to reflect the confusion of the years 66-70. Mark probably shared in the flight to Pella and wrote his gospel there; the connections with Pauline theology are not very close; Mark's information was highly defective.

Eduard Meyer has prepared the way for his book, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, of which two volumes appeared in 1921, by a study of the sources of Mark. Besides the apostolic discourse of chapter 13 he finds two main sources: a disciple-source, in which Jesus is surrounded by an indefinite throng of disciples, and an apostle-source, which presupposes the college of twelve apostles.¹

¹ Regarding the note 'Ariston erigu' after Mk. 16, 8 in an Armenian manuscript cf. Schäfers, *BiblZ*, 1915, 24 f.

2. CONTENTS OF THE GOSPELS

A

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A

(a) *Infancy narratives*

Sloet (Roman Catholic) uses Josephus to fix the date of Jesus' birth. Starting from the hypothesis (because of the plural *οἱ ζητοῦντες*, Matt. 2, 20) that Antipater was concerned in the murder of the innocents at Bethlehem, he concludes that the flight into Egypt must have taken place before Antipater made his journey and fell into disgrace, that is, before May A.U.C. 749. The census is dated by supposing that it was taken in Palestine coincidentally with the general oath of allegiance of the Jews ordered by Herod in A.U.C. 748; thus Jesus was born in 6 B.C. The difficulty that at this time either Saturninus or Varus, and not Quirinius, was governor of Syria, Sloet solves by the very doubtful expedient of translating *πρώτη . . . ἡγεμονεῖοντος . . . Κυρηνίου*, 'an earlier one than that made at the time of the governorship of Quirinius.' Surely Luke would have expressed such a note of time more clearly.

Gressmann's ingenious essay, *Das Weihnachtsevangelium* (Göttingen, 1914) took as the supposed pattern for the Chris-

tian nativity narrative a Jewish messianic legend, which in its turn was supposed to have come from the legend of Osiris as given by Plutarch, *De Iside et Osir.* 12. A thorough criticism of this construction, in which its weak sides are brought out, is given by *C. Clemen*, (ThStKr, 1916, 237-252). *J. Geffcken's* supposition that in the story of the shepherds figures and motives were taken over from the Mithras legend, is likely to find little acceptance, since the whole underlying notion of the analogy of the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil to the gospel story must be rejected. See Windisch, ThR, 1917, 20 f.

In contrast to these the essay of *F. Boll* is worth while. He shows that ἀστὴρ must mean a single star, not a constellation, nor a group of stars, nor even a comet. It is 'the star' of the Messiah, which arose at his birth, as in the conception of antiquity every man was born with a star. It will not be found on any astronomical chart.

The debate between *P. W. Schmiedel* and *E. Riegenbach* as to the original text of Matt. 1, 16 turns chiefly on the weight to be given to the citation of the passage by the Jew in the Dialogue between Timothy and Aquila published by Conybeare. Schmiedel deems this a genuine citation from the gospel, while Riegenbach regards it as intentional Jewish perversion, and thinks that the Christian editor accepted only the canonical text. Schmiedel gives a good classification of all extant forms of the text.

Grosheide discusses the text of the Sinaitic Syriac for Matthew 1, 16, accepted by von Soden, and explains it as due not to dogmatic tendency, but to the accidental error of a Greek Christian scribe, whose attention flagged after the long succession of genealogies. *J. P. van Kasteren* derives the Syriac form from the text of the Ferrar-group, where by mistake the name Joseph either was written twice or was read twice by the Syriac translator; the actual Ferrar-text is believed to be the result of dogmatic scruples. In his postscript *Grosheide* argues against the idea of a dogmatic motive, but inconclusively.

In the text of the angelic doxology of Luke 2, 14 *Harnack* decides in favor of the text in two lines and the reading εὐδοκίας.

He shows that the word *εὐδοκία* is generally used as a religious term, signifying not the 'good will' of men, but the kindly attitude of God. Harnack would connect *εὐδοκίας* and *εὐφροσύνη* (as Origen did) in spite of the resulting intolerable hyperbaton. See E. von Dobschütz, *ThLZ*, 1916, No. 9; J. H. Ropes, 'Good Will toward Men,' *HThR*, 1917, 52-56.

(b) *Buddhistic influence*

On the question of Buddhistic influence on the gospel tradition, *Beth* lays down the general principles to be followed. He calls for proof of actual intercourse between India and Syria in the time of the gospels, and believes that it cannot be given. In my opinion, greater caution is here necessary, and the possibility of such influence must be taken into account. In the next place *Beth* presses the question whether the gospel tradition is not more simply explained from Jewish and Palestinian conditions. This question is certainly reasonable, and is often neglected by Indic scholars. The same holds true of the principle that the investigation should not be limited to Indic material, since Egyptian or other parallels are often more pertinent. *Beth* finally concludes that no gospel story need be attributed to Indic sources. See *DLZ*, 1915, 893-901, 957-964.

Clemen, opposing Garbe (*Indien und das Christentum*) and Edmunds, tries to prove independence of Buddhist traditions for the material of the apocryphal as well as of the canonical gospels.

(c) *Semitisms*

F. Schulthess (semitist at Basel) discusses in his inaugural lecture the development and the documents of the Aramaic language. He dates the extension of Aramaic to Palestine earlier than is usual, taking the expressions 'Jewish' and 'Aramaic' in the story, 2 Kings 18, 26 ff., Is. 36, 11 ff., not literally, but as meaning 'Aramaic' and 'Assyrian.' On his view Hebrew became the ecclesiastical language much earlier; against which it may be urged that in that case it is incomprehensible that an Aramaic Targum should have arisen so late. He next treats the texts from which we can reconstruct the

Aramaic of Jesus' time (Palestinian Talmud, Midrashim, Samaritan Targum, Christian Palestinian literature); of all these new uniform editions are needed. The contrast of Judaeon and Galilean he takes to refer to the difference between the written language (Judaeon) and popular dialect, for he admits but trifling distinctions between the Galilean and Judaeon dialects. The traces of original Aramaic in the gospels Schultze assesses lower than Wellhausen. The Semitisms are for the most part 'septuagintisms' or hebraisms. The Aramaic tinge is due rather to the Greco-palestinian Koine. The following interpretations are worthy of note. Boanerges is explained as *bene rehem, filii uteri*, 'twins.' Iscariot, after the analogy of (i) *stratiotes*, is either a different form of *sicarius* or a popular adaptation to a place-name. Son of Man is 'man'; the Greek form arose by the mistranslation of Dan. 7, 13 in the LXX.

(d) *Length of ministry*

To the New Testament problems at present actively discussed among Catholic scholars belongs the question of the duration of Jesus' public ministry. Two scholars, van Bebbber, 1898, and, since 1903, Belser (professor at Tübingen, † 1916) have advocated the view of a one-year ministry, but without thorough criticism of the tradition. Sharp opposition arose at once and has continued. *Meinertz* first examines the patristic tradition, here not uniform, then takes up the most important Johannine data. He rejects Belser's excision of τὸ πάσχα in John 6, 4, but approves the transposition of chapters 5 and 6, which had been adopted by other Catholic scholars; finally, the feast of John 5, 1 is identical with the passover of 6, 4, so that the ministry of Jesus as reported by John is reduced to two years (so also van Kasteren, *BiblZ*, 1915, 177).

Hartl, a pupil of Meinertz, opposes at great length the one-year hypothesis (now accepted by Mader); his method is to take as basis the chronological character of John, but to abandon John's chronological arrangement. It is of interest that Hartl counts the years of Tiberius (Luke 3, 1) from the beginning of the joint-reign, A.D. 12 (in opposition see Dieckmann, *Klio*, 15 339-375); also that he has been informed by the local

pastor in Nablus, that the wheat crop there begins in the middle of May, whence it follows that the event of John 4 (from 4, 35 on) took place at the beginning of February; and, finally, that he tries to make it plausible that a Galilean was not bound (as the representatives of the one-year theory assert) to make the pilgrimages, from which again it follows that in the three years Jesus may very well have failed to make some of them. In the second part Hartl attacks various theories of dislocation proposed by Catholic scholars, and argues for the strictly chronological character of the Johannine presentation.

(e) *Geography of Palestine*

A handbook to the geography of the gospels has long been needed. No one is better qualified to write it than *G. Dalman*, who in a beautiful volume with photographs and plans has brought together the results of his innumerable journeys and careful research in the Holy Land. Dalman's attitude is one of confidence in the gospel reports, although he admits minor errors. He is disposed to accept the crypt of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem as the birthplace of Jesus (in a cave), but he does not consider authentic the mention of 'the brow of the hill' (Luke 4, 29), since it does not agree with the situation of Nazareth. The ruins of the synagogue excavated at Tell Hum he assigns to a new synagogue built about A.D. 200 on the site of the older one which stood there in Jesus' time. The 'lilies of the field' he takes to refer to any large, gay wild flowers. The tradition of a second western Bethsaida (Mark 6, 45) he rejects, as he does that of Tabor for the mount of transfiguration. Emmaus of Luke 24 is identical with 'Amwās, the statement that it was sixty miles distant from Jerusalem being neglected as inaccurate. The place of the prayer in Gethsemane he puts near the cave that is found there. The locality of the Jewish trial of Jesus must remain uncertain; but the palace of Pilate, where sentence was pronounced, is assigned to the neighborhood of the tower of David, in the western part of the town, the traditional *via dolorosa* thereby becoming impossible. Finally, with a thorough discussion, he maintains that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre occupies the cor-

rectly rediscovered site of the ancient Golgotha. See also C. Sachsse, 'Golgotha und das Praetorium des Pilatus' (ZNW 19, 1919-20, 29-38), who defends the tradition, not only for the site of Golgotha, but also in identifying the Praetorium with the Castle Antonia.

B

(f) *Baptism and temptation*

Gressmann's essay on the baptism is only a sketch, now fully elaborated in a long article which appeared in AR 20, 1921, 1-40; 323-359. The significance of the legend of the baptism is the call of Jesus not as a prophet but as messiah. The dove is a royal bird, the bird of Ishtar-Atargatis. Gressmann considers the account in John, according to which John the Baptist saw what happened, to be the original form. The two forms of the voice from heaven give respectively an adoption-formula and a marriage-formula.

A. Meyer explains that the two accounts of the temptation, that in Mark and that in Matthew and Luke, report two entirely different events. Mark's brief mention is based on the myth of the struggle between the hero-god and the lord of darkness; while in Matthew and Luke Jesus debates like a scribe. The three Old Testament citations might well have been an earlier Jewish compilation, popularly transferred to the individual Son of God. Meyer warns against understanding the temptations too definitely as messianic. On the temptation narratives see also a Catholic dissertation, P. Ketter, *Die Versuchung Jesu nach dem Berichte der Synoptiker* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 6), xvii, 140 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1918.

(g) *Miracles of healing*

Titius has made with the assistance of technical medical works a valuable study of the expulsion of demons in the gospels. Mark and Q set a high value on the exorcisms of Jesus, while Matthew weakens their significance (cf. 7, 23), and in John, which mentions no cure of a demoniac, every part of Jesus' activity is presented as a victory over death and the devil. The physical affections in question are to be regarded as

psychoses and neuroses. In Mark 9, 14 ff. two different accounts have been confused, one of epilepsy and one of dumbness; in this instance epilepsy was not healed immediately, but its cure at a later time was assured. The illness described in Luke 13, 11 ff. is *scoliasis hysterica*, which comes suddenly and vanishes as suddenly; it can be cured by suggestive influence on the will. The dumbness of Luke 11, 14 ff. is similar. The phenomenon of demon-mania is explained as depersonalization, the idea of dual consciousness. The account in Mark 1, 23 ff. and parallels is entirely comprehensible and correct; on the other hand, the result in Mark 5, 1 ff. (the Gerasene) is improbable, since a cure usually proceeds not by a sudden discharge but by a gradual recession of the symptoms. In general Mark has made the picture conform to cruder popular ideas, perhaps under the influence of dogmatic considerations, and has thus caused the work of Jesus to resemble the exorcism of an enthusiast. Jesus must have been an exorcist of unexampled success; his work strengthened confidence in himself and in God.

The Catholic scholar *J. Jaeger* protests against such explanations of the stories of healing, and shows with interesting illustrations how elaborate and tedious is the modern procedure in cure by suggestion. But medicine is also acquainted with sudden results due to suggestion; moreover Jesus was a *religious* suggestion-healer.¹

(h) *Sermon on the Mount*

Of the numerous essays and articles on this subject which have appeared in Germany, as elsewhere, discussing the right relation to war of a follower of Jesus, it is impossible here to give a report. See my reports on 'Jesus und der Krieg' in ThR, 1914, 1917. Studies which remain instructive since the war are:

Eissfeldt, O., Krieg and Bibel (Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher). 84 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1915. — *Feine, P.*, Evangelium, Krieg und Weltfrieden. 54 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1915. — *Ihmels, L.*, Der Krieg und die

¹ For a mythological interpretation of Mark 6, 48, see H. Windisch, 'En hij wilde hen voorbijgaan' (NThT, 1920, 298-308).

Jünger Jesu. 64 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1916. — *Kattenbusch, F.*, Über Feindesliebe im Sinne des Christentums (ThStKr, 1916, 1-70). — *Wernle, P.*, Antimilitarismus und Evangelium. 88 pp. Basel, Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1915. — *Plooijs, D.*, Jezus en de oorlog (ThSt, 1916, 113-129).

For completeness I add two semi-popular writings which did not appear until after the war:

Weinel, H., Die Bergpredigt, ihr Aufbau, ihr ursprünglicher Sinn und ihre Echtheit, ihre Stellung in der Religionsgeschichte und ihre Bedeutung für die Gegenwart (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt 710). 116 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1920. — *Baumgarten, O.*, Bergpredigt und Kultur der Gegenwart (Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher). 119 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1921.

Turning now to the more scientific works, the present-day problem is the scope and validity of the rigoristic teaching of the Sermon on the Mount — a problem which burns as well in the soul of the scientific investigator, and for which *F. Nägelsbach* offers a solution. His key is that the Sermon on the Mount was addressed primarily to the Apostles, and set forth the conditions of their special calling. For certain parts of the Sermon this is acceptable; for Matthew's compilation as a whole it breaks down. In the Sermon, as elsewhere in Jesus' teaching, we have to distinguish between what is addressed to pious Jews and what implies a religious community of disciples separated from Judaism, and in it those precepts predominate which could only be given to persons occupying an exceptional position outside of the established social and political order. See Deissner, ThGg, 1917, 240 f.

K. Köhler reconstructs as follows the original form of the beatitudes as they stood in Q:

Blessed are the poor, for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the hungry, for they shall be filled.

Blessed are they that weep, for they shall laugh.

Blessed is he whom men revile, for in like manner did they unto the prophets.

Luke has thus preserved the original form best; Matthew has added, according to Köhler, more than is usually supposed; in particular he has introduced the kingdom as a reward.

Fiebig discusses the originality of the saying about love to enemies in the light of the Jewish parallels. He believes the greatness of Jesus to lie in the fact that with unexampled clear-

ness and sharpness of expression he demands a boundless love, which oversteps national limits, a true love of mankind. By 'enemy' in Matt. 5, 43-48 is meant the national enemy; in 5, 38-42 the private enemy. In 5, 38 ff. Fiebig points out that the formulation is in opposition to the usual interpretation of the *jus talionis*, and is connected with the rabbinical tradition, even in the choice of examples. Luke's version is less vivid, and secondary.

Fiebig shows from rabbinical usage that the saying about the eye, Matt. 6, 22 f., cannot be taken as a parable, since the Jews habitually regarded the eye as affected with ethical character. In the saying Jesus warns us to look out for the eye, and remarks on its significance for the whole body.

In Matt. 7, 21, Luke 6, 46 ('Why call ye me Lord, Lord?') *K. Köhler* gives precedence to Luke; *κύριε* there still means 'Sir.' The form of Matt. 7, 21 is a modification of Q under the influence of Joel 3, 5 (2, 32), or more properly a protest from the side of the earnest and strict morality of a Jewish Christian against the moral laxity of the Pauline gentile Christians. The essay is important in general with reference to the development of the Kyrios-worship, the origin of which Köhler assigns to a very late date.

The 'precanonical conjecture' in the New Testament for which *Völter* argues, relates to Luke 7, 35, Matt. 11, 19, where for the incomprehensible σοφία he would substitute a supposedly original Σόδομα and add ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ before ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. He appeals to the agraphon (?) ἐδικαιώθη Σόδομα ἐκ σοῦ (Origen; Const. Ap. ii, 60) and to Ezekiel 16, 52. The consequences of this 'conjecture,' which belongs to Q and introduced the idea of wisdom, can be traced, according to *Völter*, in the addition here of the great logion (Matt. 11, 25-30) in which Jesus is represented as the personification of wisdom. *Völter* opposes Norden and the latter's assumption that here, as in Ecclus. 51 and Corp. Hermet. I, we have the same threefold scheme (prayer of thanksgiving, reception of gnosis, appeal). According to *Völter* the logion is made up directly from Ecclus. 51 and 24, but has been influenced in language by the first Hermetic tract. The whole is therefore

not a genuine utterance of Jesus, but the product of literary reflection.¹

(i) *Lord's Prayer*

The Norwegian scholar *Fridrichsen*, proceeding from the strictly eschatological character of the Lord's Prayer, concludes that the first petition is not a doxology but a genuine prayer. He derives it (cf. Ezekiel) from the eschatological hallowing of the name, which God himself brings to pass by a final miracle of salvation, a deed of power against his enemies.

Böhmer interprets the first three petitions in almost the same way. After giving (pp. 1-167) detailed lists to show the influence of Jewish 'reverence,' that is, the fear of directly pronouncing the name of God, he proceeds to controvert the interpretation renewed by W. Neveling (*PrM*, 1916, 10-18) by which the first three prayers are taken as vows: 'We will hallow thy name; we will help establish and extend thy kingdom; we will execute thy will.' In opposition to this view *Böhmer* proves by numerous analogies that the verb 'hallow' was originally purely religious, and had God as its sole subject. The first petition then prays that God establish his position in the world as God; the second, that he become manifest as king, without reference to the coöperation of the praying worshiper; the third relates to God's saving and gracious will, in which man's part is purely passive.

P. W. Schmiedel (Zürich) and D. Völter (Amsterdam) have maintained a brisk discussion of the meaning of *ἐπιούσιος*. *Schmiedel* defends emphatically the translation 'bread for tomorrow,' relying on the derivation from *ἡ ἐπιούσα* sc. *ἡμέρα* and the *maḥar* of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. On the other hand, *Völter* defends the translation 'continual,' 'daily,' as the Old Syriac and Old Latin translations understood the word, and urges Matt. 6, 34, as well as the Lukan *τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, which can only mean 'daily' bread, not bread 'for tomorrow'

¹ Völter has contributed equally ingenious and hypothetical papers on the gospels to almost every volume of *NThT.*, 'Jesus am Ölberg,' 1915, 1 ff.; 'Die Taufe Jesu durch Johannes,' 1917, 53 ff.; 'Die Versuchung Jesu,' 1917, 348 ff.; 'Die Rede Jesu über Johannes den Täufer nebst Bemerkungen zur Rede des Täufers über Jesus,' 1920, 76-95.

(cf. also NThT, 1915, 140–143). *J. Kuhn* offers the happy mediating suggestion that in Aramaic the expression was one meaning ‘destined (necessary) for the coming day,’ — which could be interpreted to mean ‘continual,’ or ‘daily,’ or ‘for tomorrow.’

(j) *Parables*

Kögel tries to explain Mark 4, 12 by the formula: ‘Jesus, like Isaiah, hardens the people by making intelligible to them through parables the preaching of the kingdom.’ This is not tenable, for to say that the people did not believe is a different thing from saying that the parables as a mode of teaching had the purpose of hardening. See Windisch, ThR, 1917, 28–32.

A very instructive contribution to the question of what the materials were from which Jesus created his parables has been made by *Gressmann*. With the parable of Dives and Lazarus he compares a Jewish tradition, extant in various versions, and an Egyptian tale of the underworld. The former describes the death and burial of a pious man and of a publican, and the different fate of the two in the next world; the latter tells of the burial of a rich man and a poor man, and how Setme sees them again on his descent into the underworld. *Gressmann* thinks that the Jews heard the tale in Egypt, and that Jesus got it from the common stock of popular legend, but that the form of the story which the parable implies is primary as compared with the Talmudic form. The peculiarity of the gospel parable lies in the stripping off of what is fantastic and in the distinct moralization that appears in the second part (which *Gressman* considers original). See Gunkel, ThLZ, 1919, No. 9–10.

Oort explains the name Lazarus in our parable by the fact that among the hellenistic Greeks ‘Lazarus’ was the type of the oppressed and pious man (with allusion here and there to the martyr Eleazar). The more radical hypothesis of B. W. Bacon (*Hibbert Journal*, 1917), that the name specially belongs with the feast of dedication, which was Maccabean, and which he supposes to have been transformed by the evangelists (John 11) into a Christian feast, is rejected by *Oort*. The

Johannine story of Lazarus has in fact nothing to do with the feast of dedication.

(k) *Death of John the Baptist*

The story of Herod's feast and the death of the Baptist has also been re-examined in the light of new material. After Reimarus, *Die Stoffgeschichte der Salomedichtungen* (1913), had suggested the derivation of the narrative from a theme of the rhetorical schools (execution of a man under trial at the demand, and in the presence of, a girl), the *present reviewer* compared it with novelistic material to be found in Athenaeus xiii, 35 f. (the princess has to choose her husband at a feast). My purpose was not to suggest the derivation of the Synoptic narrative from this source, but to show that it was historically possible that the princess should appear at a banquet. With the same motive I have discussed the connection between the gospel narrative and the story of the love affairs of Xerxes (Herodotus ix, 108-113).

P. Zondervan, on the other hand, who includes a reply to me in his article, takes the improbable view that literary influence of Herodotus upon Mark is possible, and that the novel in Athenaeus (especially the platter motive) has affected our narrative. It is possible that legendary motives have been used in the narrative; but it is my opinion that foreign legends have been drawn on for decoration only and not for the fabric of the story; and further that legend was not elaborated in books, but in oral tradition. In an article, 'De Mythe van de wedergeboorte der Natuur bij Herodotus' (NThT, 1919, 205-240), Zondervan tries to prove a mythical origin of the Herod novel; see also D. Völter (NThT, 1921, 10 ff.), who connects the evangelist with the book of Esther; and again in reply P. Zondervan, 'Het boek Esther en het gastmaal van koning Herodes' (NThT, 1921, 206-217). Dalman, 'Zum Tanz der Tochter des Herodes' (PalJ 14, 44-46) tries to show by modern analogies that the dance of a princess at court was entirely possible.

(I) *Jesus' words to Peter*

Interesting essays are to be noted relating to the words to Peter, Matthew 16. *A. Dell* (ZNW, 1914, 1-49) explains the conceptions underlying Matt. 16, 17-19 from the point of view of the history of religions. He concludes that the utterance is the product of popular imagination occupying itself with the figure of Peter, and that in its present form it is the work of the evangelist. *Immisch*, a student of philology, tries to prove its genuineness by showing its connections with the physical features of Caesarea Philippi. Behind the city rises a high wall of rock on which stood a sanctuary (the temple of Augustus), while at the foot of the cliff was the grotto of Pan with a spring, an entrance into the lower world ('the gates of hell'). All this proves nothing. The evangelist betrays no knowledge of the location at the foot of the mountain; and the saying itself would suit Jerusalem quite as well (cliff; entrance to Hades). That the saying originated in the Aramaic-speaking primitive church is very probable.

Harnack's study follows a different direction. He does not undertake to trace the derivation, but to determine afresh the original text and meaning. 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against' means 'shall not die.' That cannot well be said of the church, but only of a man, that is of Peter. Either *αὐτῆς* refers to *πέτρα* (i.e. Peter) or else the original reading must have been *σὺ εἰ Κηφᾶς καὶ πύλαι ᾗδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν σοῦ*. But that is the text of Tatian according to Ephrem. The saying was originally a promise to Peter that he should not die before the parousia, and belongs with the similar words Mk. 9, 1; 13, 30 and John 21, 22. Harnack's argument on the textual criticism seems to me open to objection, but the idea is worth considering that the saying promises continuance until the parousia not only to the church but also to Peter. This is, in fact, the way in which both Origen and the heathen in Macarius Magnes interpret the passages to which Harnack refers. See Windisch, ThLZ, 1919, No. 17-18; J. Haussleiter, ThLBl, 1918, No. 25-26. The latter rejects the reference to Peter, as well as the reconstruction, of the text, since he cannot believe

that an interpolation originating, as Harnack thinks, in Rome could so easily have been accepted in the whole Orient. J. Sickenberger, *ThRev*, 1920, No. 1-2, holds that the reference of *ἀντὶς* to Peter is possible but less probable, and explains the text in Ephrem as deliberate alteration. See also D. Völter, *NThT*, 1921, 174-205; Bultmann, *ZNW*, 19, 165 ff.

C

(m) *Apocalyptic discourse*

P. Corssen and D. Völter have independently made a literary analysis of the apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13 and parallels with a view to ascertaining its historical significance. *Corssen* sees in the discourse a revision of a prophetic *Flugblatt*, published for the Christian community before the siege of Jerusalem, perhaps at the time of the Idumean massacres, and identifies it with the oracle mentioned by Eusebius, *H. E.* iii, 5, 3. There was danger that the Christians would be drawn into the whirlpool of messianic enthusiasm; for that reason the prophet demands separation from the Jewish community. The *Flugblatt* consisted of Mk. 13, 7, 8, 12; Matt. 24, 10-12, 15-22, 23-51. The additions made by Mark were intended to adapt the apocalypse in some degree to the unexpected course of the actual events.

Völter takes as the kernel of the apocalyptic discourse Mk. 13, 7 f., 14-20, 24-27; he dates it earlier, in the time of the troubles under Caligula. Mark has combined this with real words of Jesus; thus Völter thinks the words Mk. 13, 1 f., 28-31 and Lk. 19, 41-44 to be a connected series of sayings in which Jesus speaks in the consciousness of being the Son of Man mentioned by Ezekiel.

(n) *Last Supper*

R. Otto explains the original character of the Lord's Supper by a new hypothesis (although Boř, *JThSt*, 1902, had proposed something similar). He connects the Last Supper not with the passover, but with the kiddush, celebrated on the eve of the passover, at which likewise wine and bread are blessed and

—distributed. The association of ideas which prompted Jesus started with the breaking of the bread; that suggested the death which threatened him, a death by stoning, in which his limbs would be broken and his blood flow.

Schmiedel in reply holds to the connection of the Last Supper with the passover (emphasizing the idea of the passover sacrifice); only after the destruction of Jerusalem was the kiddush set on the eve of the passover. He also defends the Synoptic account, which Otto abandons in favor of the Johanne.

The controversy shows once more the great difficulty of distinguishing the genuine from the secondary in the accounts of the Last Supper, and of catching the thoughts of Jesus and their occasion. See Windisch, *ThR*, 1917, 329-332. An attempt to ascertain the original meaning of the Last Supper by omission of certain words is made by *K. Goetz* in his latest book on the subject. The idea which he excises is that of *diatheke*. The act of Jesus must be understood as symbol and parable; it is to be thought of somewhat as Jülicher put it — as the last parable of Jesus. And it is to be observed that Jesus does not speak of his slain body, but of body (flesh) and blood, of his human person (compare the prayers in the *Didache*); in a parable he designated his human nature as food and drink for his disciples.

(o) *Passion and resurrection*

The enigmatic saying about the swords found only in Luke, occupied many minds during the war. *Schlatter* has devoted to it a remarkable essay, which on the whole, as it seems to me, explains satisfactorily literary form and original meaning. In opposition to most exegetes Schlatter takes the words neither metaphorically nor ironically. It is a serious piece of advice for the troublous times to come, to have a sword at hand not, as the socialist exegesis insists, to fight against the Romans, but for self-defence against bandits and assassins. Thus Schlatter denies to the saying any connection with the story of the passion, and strips it of all relation to a possible defence of Jesus by force. In my book, *Der messianische Krieg und das Ur-*

christentum, 1909, I proposed the hypothesis that on the way to Gethsemane Jesus had been warned to watchfulness against a threatened attack and urged to defend himself against it; and that he was brought to the decision not to use force in his own defence only by the struggle in Gethsemane. This view is, of course, only tenable if at the "Last" Supper Jesus had not yet foreseen his death and submitted to the necessity of it. See ThR, 1914, 311 f.

M. Dibelius has written a penetrating study of the composition and motives of the passion-narrative. He emphasizes the apologetic character of these chapters and the limited portion due to eye witnesses, in which he includes only the Last Supper, the arrest, the denial, and the crucifixion. The evangelists wanted to give a continuous and complete narrative, and consequently had to supplement their materials by their own combinations and arbitrary additions. If Luke gives a more complete account than others, it is not that he can draw on a completer and better tradition, but what we have is due to his greater literary skill and to the growth of legends. The scene 'Jesus before Herod' is to be considered legendary. It contains, as Dibelius says with some exaggeration, nothing concrete, but consists of three conventional motives — the silence of Jesus, the accusation by the high priests, and the mocking by Herod and the soldiers. All that Luke had heard was that Jesus stood before Herod, and that Pilate and Herod made common cause. Even that, however, came from the prophecy, Ps. 2, 1 f., which was interpreted of Herod and Pilate; and this interpretation, as Acts 4, 25 ff. shows, first received fixed form in a prayer used in public worship. The scene in the passion-narrative once invented, the detailed shaping was quite within Luke's power. Moreover, the episode is open to the objection that the chronology of the gospels hardly provides time for it.

In the second essay *Dibelius* pursues the investigation of Old Testament influence on the tradition of the passion and of Easter. The following narratives are derived from the theological and historical interpretation of the Old Testament: Jesus placed on the chair of the judge (Justin, *Apol.* 1, 35 and

Ev. Peter 6, cf. Is. 59, 9 f.); the parting of the garments (Ev. Petr. 12, Jn. 19, 24, cf. Psalm 22, 18). In a source used by John the following points were already included: Mary Magdalene informs the brethren of the appearance to her (cf. Psalm 22, 20); Jesus' body pierced, Jn. 19, 36 f. (cf. Zech. 12, 10, Ps. 34, 20); Jesus drinks, Jn. 19, 29 (cf. Ps. 69, 21). Dibelius points out that the Gospel of Peter is full of new traits, and that its author attaches his story to the Old Testament much more closely than is the case in the canonical gospels. That means that the later gospel still shows the more original form of the use of the Old Testament as source for evangelical tradition. Dibelius rejects the opinion that the Gospel of Peter used the Acts of Pilate.

In a very original piece of work, the only one before us dealing with the resurrection of Jesus, *F. Spitta* follows solely the method of exegesis and literary criticism. Points of view and deductions drawn from the history of religions he leaves untouched. Also the modern vision-hypothesis with its assumptions (the flight of the disciples to Galilee; Peter the first to receive a vision) is rejected. As in earlier writings, he still prefers the accounts of Luke and John, and believes that by means of a few omissions and by using the tradition of the Gospel according to the Hebrews the following series of events can be shown to be historical: By a miraculous restoration to life of the body of Jesus the grave actually became empty; Jesus was 'raised' in the same way as Lazarus or the daughter of Jairus, and he appeared again just as before, not in a transfigured celestial body. Of course the grave was neither sealed nor guarded by soldiers. A priest's servant perhaps helped him out of his grave-clothes and gave him other garments (cf. the Gospel according to the Hebrews). He first met James, then Mary Magdalene. Later he is with the disciples at Emmaus; but further miracles do not take place; his disappearance is a secret departure from the room, after which he rides back to Jerusalem. In the same manner when he comes to the disciples there assembled he does not pass through closed doors, but (like Peter, Acts 12, 6 ff.) enters after knocking and being admitted by the door-keeper. Thus

it is not a matter of appearances, but of the resumption of intercourse with his friends. The only miracle is the return to life. That had taken place during the night between Saturday and Sunday, not 'on the third day,' nor 'after three days,' — these words are derived not from the cult-myths of the death and resurrection of saviour-gods but from Hosea 6, 2 (as if that passage itself were not the precipitate of a myth).

The advantage of this reconstruction is that Spitta tries so far as possible to hold to the gospel tradition. But he finds it necessary to force his texts in order to make them suit his theory; for they imply the transfigured body of the risen Lord. The lonely traveler who all of a sudden is walking with his friends, and then disappears again equally at unawares, is a strange figure. Moreover, Spitta has no discussion of the (second) departure of Jesus. His hypothesis requires a second miracle, a translation like that of Elijah, unless Jesus, like Lazarus, died a second time (and in the deepest secrecy). In a word, Spitta's attempt breaks down, and proves anew that we must take into account visions and myths in order to explain the Easter stories. See Bultmann, *ThLZ*, 1919, No. 11-12; Deissner, *ThGg*, 1919, 187 ff.; Fiebig, *LZBl*, 1920, No. 13-14. Fiebig proposes that we apply to the Easter stories the Buddhist theosophical experiences of the materialization and dematerialization of the body, and so reach a solution of the problems. Cf. also R. A. Hoffmann (professor at Vienna), *Das Geheimnis der Auferstehung Jesu*. 167 pp. Leipzig, 1921.

3. JESUS CHRIST

A

Life of Christ

Wernle, P., *Jesus*. xv, 368 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1916. — *Loofs, F.*, *Wer war Jesus Christus?* xii, 255 pp. Halle, Niemeyer, 1916. — *Brun, L.*, *Jesu Evangelium*. xi, 640 pp. Christiania, Aschehoug, 1917. — *Schlatter, A.*, *Die Geschichte des Christus*. 544 pp. Stuttgart, Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1920. — *Lepsius, J.*, *Das Leben Jesu*. 2 Bde. 382, 380 pp. Potsdam, Tempelverlag, 1917, 1918. — *Mehlhorn, P.*, *Wahrheit und Dichtung im Leben Jesu (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt 137)*. 2. Aufl. 130 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1919.

B

Jesus' conception of himself

Frövig, A., Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu als Lehrer und Wundertäter nach Markus und der sogenannten Redequelle untersucht. 263 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1918. — *Völter, D.*, Die Menschensohnfrage neu untersucht. 56 pp. Leiden, Brill, 1916. — *Kuhnert, E.*, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (ZNW 18, 1917-18, 165-176). — *Bultmann, R.*, Die Frage nach dem messianischen Bewusstsein Jesu und das Petrus-bekenntnis (ZNW 19, 1919-20, 165-174).

C

Jesus' ethics, and use of the Old Testament

Grimm, E., Die Ethik Jesu. 2. Aufl. 343 pp. Leipzig, Heinsius, 1917. — *Preisker, H.*, Die Ethik der Evangelien und die jüdische Apokalyptik (dissertation). 70 pp. Breslau, 1915. — *Preisker, H.*, Die Art und Tragweite der Lebenslehre Jesu (ThStKr, 1919, 1-45). — *Hänel, J.*, Der Schriftbegriff Jesu. Studie zur Kanongeschichte und religiösen Beurteilung des Alten Testaments (BFTb 24). 224 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1919.

A

Life of Christ

The book of *P. Wernle* is the best detailed, scholarly, and yet popular exposition of the teaching and character of Jesus that we have in German. It has, as the preface explains, two deliberate aims, — exactness of philological and historical criticism and religious understanding. The author now puts the main emphasis on the latter, admitting that he formerly overestimated the value of purely scientific and technical study in this field. It is indeed to undertake the infinite, if it be our aim to comprehend the personality of Jesus. Wernle has in general escaped the risk of obscuring the historical point of view through interest in the religious understanding. He insists that the story of Jesus is by no means 'edifying,' and the strangeness and drastic harshness of Jesus are not concealed in his portrayal.

He begins with a sketch of 'Volkstum und Eigenart,' which sets forth Jesus' Old Testament faith, and his individuality in contrast to contemporary Judaism. The teaching of Jesus is described under the topics, belief in God, man and God's requirements, the message of the coming kingdom of God.

In Jesus' attitude to the Jewish Law, Wernle emphasizes the sharper, enhanced, more absolute quality shown in Jesus' requirements. In discussing the source of these, not ascetic but heroic, commands, Wernle for the most part neglects the concrete, eschatological situation which gave them their occasion, and prefers to associate them with Jesus' deep experience of God. Jesus' attitude to the Roman state is marked by two points of view: on the one side the duty of political obedience, with brusque rejection of everything revolutionary; on the other, the exaltation of religious duty, of the love of God and yearning for the kingdom of God, raised far above anything political. Wernle's presentation of the signs of the kingdom of God and the conditions of its coming is admirable. As to the date of the coming of the kingdom he distinguishes neutral utterances, sayings which represent it as near, and expressions which indicate its present realization. He sees no reason for denying originality to any one of these groups; although the 'catastrophic' idea may have been the interpretation of a later day. In any case the kingdom will not come through our efforts. Wernle's emphasis on the bearing of the one (so Mark and Matthew) genuine word from the cross deserves mention. In the last chapter he admits that Jesus regarded himself as the messiah, but with a novel conception under which he presented himself as one trusted by the Father and sent to help his brethren. Throughout the book the effort is manifest to relieve the teaching and person of Jesus of contemporary, human traits, and to translate them into the sphere of the eternal. See E. Tröltsch, *ThLZ*, 1916, No. 3; Jülicher, *ChrW*, 1915, No. 48; Windisch, *ThR*, 1917, 42 ff.; Feine, *ThLBl*, 1916, No. 4.

The book of *F. Loofs* is a translation of his Haskell Lectures, *What is the Truth about Jesus Christ?* (New York, Scribners, 1913). Wernle's book, which Loofs does not wholly agree with, is the occasion of the publication in German. Loofs's main thesis, namely, that the assumption that the life of Jesus was purely human can be proved incorrect, historically and theologically, seems to me defective. He directs his arguments only against the antiquated 'liberal' account of Jesus and the ex-

treme eschatological Jesus; but his acute and thoughtful criticism deserves attention. See Windisch, ThR, 1917, 49-58; Knopf, ThLZ, 1917, No. 11.

The work of the Norwegian scholar *L. Brun* is heavily weighted with learning. The author lays great stress on the relation of the gospel of Jesus to later Judaism, and in every chapter introduces a comparison of later Jewish views of the subject in hand. He takes in general a mediating position.

Schlatter has published a new edition of the first volume ('Das Wort Jesu') of his *Theology of the New Testament* (1909). The new title, 'Geschichte des Christus,' indicates that Schlatter aims to portray not the so-called Jesus of history but the Christ of the four gospels; it also implies that in order to understand this Christ the student must not limit himself to a bare statement of his teachings but must realize the unity of doctrine and deed. The sections of the earlier work are largely reproduced, but in different order and generally with considerable alteration. The spirit of the work is the same as before; Synoptic and Johannine tradition and conception unite to form one harmonious stream. Schlatter has a good acquaintance with later Judaism and constantly weaves this knowledge into his history. He is a very suggestive theologian, although his reflections ought not to be accepted as if they were critical historical interpretation.

F. Lepsius' romance is included here because the author is a thoroughly trained theologian, and the book everywhere shows his acquaintance with the critical problems. The poetic reconstruction itself is interesting to the scholar, for the artistic intuition of the romance-writer has infused fresh dramatic vitality into the brief narratives of the evangelists. The writer's personal knowledge of the Orient is apparent in every chapter. See Mehlhorn, PrM, 1919, No. 7-8; Deissner, ThGg, 1919, 183 ff.

The little book of *P. Mehlhorn* (†), in which the author attempted to distinguish sharply between truth and poetry in the gospel tradition according to the principles of modern scholarship and liberal theology, has appeared in a revised edition.

B

Jesus' conception of himself

The Norwegian *A. Frøvig* has given a very conservative detailed treatment of the 'self-consciousness' (*Selbstbewusstsein*) of Jesus. In the discussion of Jesus as teacher the word *ἐξουσία*, which marks his contrast to the scribes and Pharisees, is explained as the possession of a higher power which was the source of Jesus' independent attitude toward tradition and the Bible. Frøvig conceives of Jesus' consciousness of his own nature as prophetic, as super-prophetic, and as messianic. He lets the eschatological expectation drop out of Jesus' circle of ideas, although the conquest of Satan was a main element in the messianic office as Jesus conceived it. In spite of restricting himself to the Synoptic tradition, the author is forced to assume for that tradition a basis of what are in fact Johannine ideas, and it is not surprising that the discussion brings up at last not with a contrast but with a unity between Jesus' ideas and the faith of the church. See M. Dibelius, *ThLZ*, 1919, No. 19-20.

Völter's essay is a reproduction and defence of the idea brought forward in his *Jesus der Menschensohn oder das Berufsbewusstsein Jesu*, 1914 (see also *NThT*, 1915), that Jesus' idea of himself as Son of Man was derived from Ezekiel. By the connection in the story of Zacchaeus (which is a doublet of the calling of Levi) of the vocation of the Son of Man with forgiveness, he establishes an analogy to the vocation of the 'Son of Man' in Ezekiel, and he then proceeds to argue that in the Sermon on the Mount, the parables, and the cleansing of the temple Jesus follows the pattern of Ezekiel. The ingenious argument is unconvincing.

E. Kuhnert quite wrongly explains the term Son of Man to mean 'benefactor, or saviour, of mankind,' arguing from the Greek inscriptions which designate a benefactor as *υἱὸς πόλεως*, *υἱὸς λαοδικέων*, *υἱὸς Ἑλλάδος*, etc. See E. Hertlein, *ZNW* 19, 1919-20, 46-48.

Bultmann, following and supplementing Wrede's studies, raises anew doubts as to the soundness of the tradition of the

title Son of Man. The fact that belief in Jesus' messiahship arose after his death has, he holds, left positive traces in the tradition, notably in the 'messianic secret' and in Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi. The former was intended to explain why the people did not accept the apostolic preaching, and also why the Apostles themselves had not recognized until after the resurrection that Jesus was the messiah. In Peter's confession the pericope in Mark is secondary, being both prompted by partisan animosity against Peter and in its present form mutilated. The words addressed to Peter in Matthew are an integral part of the pericope, and Bultmann infers that the whole scene is the invention of the early church. Using the singular agreement between Matt. 16, 17 f. and Gal. 1, 15 f., he concludes that the conversation with Peter also relates to an Easter vision and that in Mk. 8, 27-30 it is the risen Christ who speaks, as well as in Matt. 18, 15-20, cf. also John 20, 22 f.; 21, 15-19.

Bultmann's argument is not wholly convincing, but is striking. Yet it is nowhere stated in the gospels that the messiahship was directly concealed from the disciples. Moreover, in the narrative the exact fixing of the locality remains impressive as against the idea that the whole scene is the product of later thought; the note of place (Mk. 8, 27a) cannot be connected with the preceding pericope. It may well be that an historical narrative and a resurrection-story are here combined; in any case the full credibility of the pericope is shaken.

C

Jesus' ethics, and use of the Old Testament

Grimm, a liberal pastor, has written for educated laymen with lucidity and careful thought. In this 2d edition some discussions suggested by the War have been added.

The Breslau dissertation of *H. Preisker* is an able investigation of the relation of the ethics of the gospels to Jewish apocalyptic. The influence of the apocalypses on Jesus is to be seen in the effect exerted by eschatology on his moral teaching, which is traced in a variety of aspects. Also the attitude of

Jesus as to the validity of the Law is prepared for by the apocalyptic writers, who reject Pharisaic formalism, emphasize such virtues as purity, humility, and love of one's neighbor, and reflect on the origin of sin, while on the other hand they do not touch the question of the source of power for the fulfillment of the commandments. But there are also differences, — the drastic and heroic quality of Jesus' requirements, the setting aside of the ritual precepts, the universalism of the law of love, the conviction that the kingdom of God is already coming. Jesus purified and deepened Jewish moral teaching; in the ethics of the later church Jewish influence grew stronger. Preisker does not extend his inquiry to the ethics of the Old Testament prophets or of the wisdom-literature.

In *Preisker's* second essay the new and exalted elements of Jesus' teaching are much more strongly emphasized, and it is urged that these were due not to apocalyptic doctrine but to the personal character of Jesus, which produced an ethical teaching of intensified religious individualism, that took hold of, and deepened, the eschatology.

Hänel's book begins with an inquiry into the contents of the Old Testament as implied by Jesus' sayings, followed by a minute investigation of the text of his quotations, from which the author concludes that he used a targumic popular Bible. In the second part Hänel discusses at length from all possible sides Jesus' mode of using the Scriptures, and tries, without much success, to construct a formula which will cover both his subjection to the Scriptures and his attitude of superiority to them. See Deissner, *ThGg*, 1920, 6, 223 f.

III. THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS

A

Erbes, P., Der Jünger, welchen Jesus lieb hatte (ZKG 36, 283-318). — *Zickendraht, K.*, Ist Lazarus der Lieblingsjünger des vierten Evangeliums? (*SchwThZ*, 1915, 49-54). — *Larfeld, W.*, Die beiden Johannes von Ephesus. 186 pp. München, Beck, 1914. — *Soltan, W.*, Das vierte Evangelium in seiner Entstehungsgeschichte dargelegt (SAH, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1916). 39 pp. — *Stange, E.*, Die Eigenart der johanneischen Produktion (dissertation). 66 pp. Dresden, 1914. — *Schniewind, J.*, Die Parallelerikopen bei Lukas und Johannes (Habilitationsschrift). 100 pp. Leipzig, 1914. — *Har-nack, A. von*, Zur Textkritik und Christologie der Schriften des Johannes (SAB, 1915, 534-573).

B

Wetter, G. P., "Der Sohn Gottes." Eine Untersuchung über den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannes-Evangeliums (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, N. F. 9). 200 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1916. — *Wetter, G. P.*, "Ich bin es." Eine johanneische Formel (ThStKr, 1915, 224–238). — *Wetter, G. P.*, "Ich bin das Licht der Welt" (Beiträge zur Religionswissenschaft I, 2, 1913–14, 166–201). — *Wetter, G. P.*, Eine gnostische Formel im 4. Evangelium (ZNW 18, 49–63). — *Lütgert, W.*, Die johanneische Christologie. 2. Aufl. xi, 270 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1916. — *Monse, F. X.*, Johannes und Paulus (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 5). 213 pp. München, Aschendorff, 1915.

C

Apocalypse

Boll, F., Aus der Offenbarung Johannis. Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apocalypse (Stoicheia 1). viii, 151 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1914. — *Clemen, C.*, Die Bildlichkeit der Offenbarung Johannis (Festgabe für J. Kaftan, 25–43). Tübingen, Mohr, 1920. — *Hadorn, W.*, Die Zahl 666, ein Hinweis auf Trajan (ZNW 19, 1919–20, 11–29).

A

Erbes, completing an earlier study (ZKG, 1912, 159 ff.), argues that the beloved disciple, whom he identifies with the Elder John of Papias and of the Johannine epistles, was the 'rich young man' (Mk. 10, 17–22), and was, further, the same as the 'young man' of Mk. 14, 51. He accepts the tradition of the martyrdom of the Apostle John, and (rejecting the conjecture of Larfeld) holds the first mention of John in the list of Apostles in the Papias fragment to be an interpolation.

The Swiss, *K. Zickendraht*, thinks that Lazarus, the other person in the gospels of whom it is said that Jesus loved him, is the beloved disciple. See R. Steck (SchwThZ, 1915, 91–94), who rejects the suggestion.

Larfeld has written a very careful investigation of the notice of Papias about the Presbyter John. His conclusion is that since the John mentioned with Aristion is not the previously named Apostle John, the appellation, 'the disciples of the Lord,' cannot apply to the two former names, and he conjectures, in consideration of what is known about the abbreviations of *nomina sacra*, that \overline{KT} arose from \overline{ICOT} , and that

from an original $\overline{\text{I}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}}$ (i.e. 'Iωάννου). But the Apostle probably wrote the main gospel, the Elder John (with Aristion) chapter 21.

Soltau's analysis of the gospel is highly complicated. Like Wendt and Spitta, he distinguishes narratives and discourses, but the former were slowly formed into the Corpus which now makes the foundation of our gospel, while the discourses were not introduced before ca. 140. He emphasizes the point that the discourses are devoid of all relation to the narratives and are closely related to one another; their independent origin is also indicated by Ignatius, who is acquainted with them, but not with the gospel as a whole. Their home was therefore Antioch. They are developed from Synoptic material, especially parables, but are differentiated from the Synoptics by their higher christology. The share of the Apostle John is limited to certain Johannine legends which came from him orally. The Elders, especially the Elder John, also took part in the composition. Soltau's division of the narrative material into Johannine, Synoptic, and anti-synoptic (that is, legends which were intended to correct or rival Synoptic traditions) is instructive, also his hypothesis that the discourses, like the Synoptic 'logia,' formed a distinct book. The study is a comprehensive sketch; for individual proofs see ThStKr, 1915, 371 ff. and ZNW, 1915, 24-54; 1916, 49-69.

Into the discussion of the Fourth Gospel a new point of view is brought by *E. Stange*, with his idea of a psychological explanation of the Johannine diction. John, he says, was expressly inclined to isolative apperception. Stange describes elaborately, and in general correctly, the Johannine style, with its repetitions, recapitulations, fondness for definitions (positive and negative), lack of capacity for swift, logical connected thought, and other characteristics. *Bultmann*, in his review (ThLZ, 1916, 532 ff.), points out that certain linguistic peculiarities in John pertain to vulgar usage, but are favorite phrases with John. To Bultmann's further suggestion that all this might apply to a school or an intellectual atmosphere, it may be replied that while single elements of the Johannine style recall the solemn style of hellenistic syncretism, and while the

style of John could be imitated by interpolators, yet in the New Testament it stands unique and implies a definite individual behind it. Moreover, it is not necessary to believe that all the discourses in John came in continuous flow from the author's pen.

Schniewind has examined at length the parts of John which seem parallel to Luke, and argues that the parallelisms are not of literary origin but are due to the common use of a narrative tradition, especially to be detected in the history of the passion. His proof is inadequate; the parallels, mostly single traits and phrases, may often be referred to the independent working of common apologetic and literary motives.

Harnack studies the text and meaning of some difficult passages in the gospel and epistles of John, with the incidental purpose of illustrating the importance of the text of the Vulgate. In 1 John 5, 18, in place of the difficult $\delta \gammaεννηθεις \epsilonκ \tauου \thetaεου$ (as applied to Christ a phrase without parallel), he would read $\eta \gammaέννησις \epsilonκ \tauου \thetaεου$, which makes sense and is the reading of the Vulgate (as well as of Chromatius and of at least two Greek minuscules). He discusses John 1, 13 with its alleged allusion to the virgin-birth. As it stands, the sentence can refer only to Christ, but in the present context it is awkward. *Harnack* thinks it to be an originally singular, very old, christological gloss, which was either prefixed to 1, 14 while still in the singular and without relative pronoun, or else was appended to 1, 13 after being changed to the plural. In John 1, 33 f. *Harnack* decides for $\delta \epsilonκλεκτός$, as a messianic appellation of Jewish theology, and in 1 John 4, 2 f. for $\lambdaβει$. He warns against the omission of 1 John 2, 1 f. $\omegaς (καλ) αυτος (or \delta \thetaεος) μένει εις τον αιωνα$, which is found in the Sahidic and in some Latin witnesses. In 1 John 2, 20 he accepts $\παντα$ instead of $παντες$, and in 1 John 3, 10 prefers $\delta μη \omegaν δικαιος$ (Ψ vg Orig latt syr) to the usual $\delta μη ποιων δικαιοσυνην$. Finally, in 1 John 5, 17 he would omit $ου$ (with vg Tert pesh arm), whereby an effective conclusion is gained. In an appendix *Harnack* argues that the *comma johanneum* is the post-augustinian revision of an old addition to the text.¹

¹ On the *comma johanneum* cf. also A. Bludau, 'Das Comma johanneum bei den Griechen' (BiblZ, 1915, 26-50; 180-162; 222-243).

B

Wetter has an excellent knowledge of syncretistic mythology and piety; and of all the recent discussions of the theological character of John his are the most important. His main thesis is that the hellenistic syncretistic theology had a doctrine of the Son of God, who comes down from heaven, works as teacher of the human race, as revealer of God, as doer of miracles, as redeemer, as restrainer and conqueror of the magi, and who ascends into heaven; and that this figure is in John united with that of Christ, with a polemic aim against the heathen representatives of this doctrine. While the Johannine portrait of Christ uses, both in general and in the discourses, many motives of the syncretistic figure of the saviour (especially in the soteriological sayings introduced by 'I am'), at the same time the purpose is to disparage all heathen saviour-worship and to exalt the Christ of the church as the only true Saviour.

Wetter's book continues Bousset's work and applies his ideas to John. He reproduces the syncretistic material more fully than did Bousset, although he pays strangely little attention to the saviour-gods of the mysteries. His evidence that many traits of the Johannine Christ can be explained from the syncretistic environment is convincing; but qualification is necessary, for Hellenism ought not to be so sharply contrasted with Judaism and the Old Testament. Most of the predicates in John are connected with Old Testament and Jewish terms and traditions; the Jewish messiah is one type of ancient faith in a saviour, and before the time of John the messiah was occasionally depicted by the aid of syncretistic motives. The same is true of the figure of Jesus in the Synoptics, at an earlier period than that of the Fourth Gospel. The first disciples probably viewed Jesus in the light of syncretistic ideas of a saviour, so that in John the process was merely carried farther, and given a telling literary expression. As to the polemic purpose of the gospel, the thought of heathen 'substitute saviours' must have been only incidental; in general the evangelist betrays no consciousness of it. See M. Dibelius, *DLZ*, 1918, No. 20-21; Windisch, *ThT*, 1917, 244 ff.; W. Bauer, *ThLZ*, 1918,

No. 23-24; A. Loisy, RC, November 1919; Deissner, ThGg, 1917, 246 ff.

In the formula *ἐγώ εἰμι* Wetter finds a 'name' hinted at which comprehends the divinity of Christ, a view which he supports by evidence from outside the Bible. In 'I am the light of the world,' he sees a formula the meaning of which can be discovered from the hellenistic religious literature, where 'light' is the name for a saving and revealing religious entity, and thus a term with a sense already established, and that could be applied to Jesus. 'I know whence I come and whither I go,' Wetter thinks to be a gnostic formula current in mystical circles, where knowledge of one's own origin and destiny, that is, of one's own nature, was a constituent element in religious gnosis.

Lütgert's monograph (a thoroughly revised new edition) follows completely the method imposed by biblical 'literalism.' It covers the whole range of Johannine ideas, as is entirely suitable in view of the central importance of Christ in the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel. In spite of his refusal to recognize any relation of the Gospel of John to the thought of its time, Lütgert's simple presentation of Johannine doctrine is valuable.

The Catholic chaplain Monse has not solved the problem of 'John and Paul,' but he presents the most important material well arranged, and puts together conveniently the Johannine parallels to Paul and the Pauline parallels to John. See Windisch, ThLZ, 1916, No. 4; Feine, ThLBl, 1915, No. 24.¹

C

Apocalypse

The understanding of the apocalyptic cosmology of the Book of Revelation has been distinctly advanced by the philologist F. Boll. His book was written before the War, but the failure of R. H. Charles to use it in his Commentary will justify an account of its contents and importance here. Boll's chief contribution is the proof that the Apocalypse owes its figures and material not to the distant Orient but to its own hellenistic

¹ Cf. also Rol. Schütz, *Die Vorgeschichte der johanneischen Formel ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν* (dissertation). Göttingen, Hubert, 1917.

environment, which of course was subject to strong oriental influence. Boll's explanation of the prophecies of woes in the Apocalypse from the catalogues of catastrophes found in the hellenistic astrological texts seems to me to produce a series of highly important analogies, not to point to a derivation. More sagacious is his interpretation of the fundamental motives of the apocalyptic picture of the universe, especially in the numbers, as due to hellenistic cosmology. In particular he seeks to show the connection of the apocalyptic phenomena and processes with the starry heavens and ancient astrology. Some examples of this may be given: the sea of glass (15, 2) may be the Milky Way; the altar (6, 9) is a constellation in the southern heavens (his further inferences here are improbable); the twenty-four elders are twenty-four stars which Diodorus Siculus ii, 31, 4 terms 'judges of the worlds'; the four beasts are four constellations; the heavenly Jerusalem is the cosmic heaven with the twelve signs of the zodiac and the Milky Way, etc. In chapter 12 the virgin and the dragon are constellations; the proximate mythical model Boll finds in Isis, who is likewise identified with the constellation Virgo. Boll here argues for a Christian, not a Jewish, origin for the chapter. Boll's studies have brought him to the conclusion that the Apocalypse is a stylistic unity and can not be analyzed into a variety of component sources, since the same astrological notions are carried through all parts of the book.

That all these explanations require to be tested is shown by *C. Clemen* (NJkIA, 1915, 26-43). Clemen would identify the sea of glass, not with the heavenly ocean, but with the primeval sea (Tiāmat), and doubts whether the 'lamb' is the constellation Aries. He is also skeptical both as to the constellation Virgo and the figure of Isis, and in opposition to Boll holds on to the Jewish origin of the source of chapter 12; and thinks that Boll exaggerates the influence of hellenistic astrology on the Apocalypse. Nevertheless Heitmüller has done well to include some of these suggested derivations of apocalyptic ideas in the new edition of J. Weiss's commentary on the Book of Revelation in 'Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt.'

D. Völter (PrM 21, 39–51) has also broken a lance with Boll over chapter 12 of the Apocalypse. While admitting that the Isis-myth underlies the imagery, he contends that the combination of the mother of the messiah with Parthenos-Isis was suggested by Is. 7, 14 and Micah 4, 8–10; the woman in heaven is like the heavenly Jerusalem, Gal. 4, 26; the myth was intended to deny the incarnation of Christ and hence was composed by the docetist Cerinthus. See A. Meyer, ThR, 1915, 204 ff.; W. Bousset, ThLZ, 1915, No. 12 (with valuable additions to the discussion); W. Bauer, DLZ, 1915, No. 36.

C. Clemen has written also on the 'imagery' of Revelation. He counts up all the designations and descriptions in the book which are certainly figurative, and argues that they are all so dependent on transmitted tradition, and in many cases are so self-contradictory, that they must have been not 'seen' but 'invented.' But such inconsistencies and obscurities actually occur in dreams.

Hadorn (professor at Bern) proposes a new interpretation of 666. *θηριον* in Hebrew letters yields 666, but what did *θηριον* mean? Hadorn suggests the name (of similar sound) 'Trajan,' or rather the family name of the emperor, *Οβλαπιος*, which also yields (in Greek) 666. Trajan is the eighth head, if you reckon from Nero and leave out Galba. The reference to Nero (in Hebrew letters) may also have been in the back of the apocalyptic writer's mind; in that case he would have thought that Trajan was Nero redivivus. See Heitmüller, ThLZ 45, 57 f.

IV. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

A

Zahn, Th., Die Urausgabe der Apostelgeschichte des Lucas (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons 9). 401 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1916. — *Wellhausen, J.*, Kritische Analyse der Apostelgeschichte (AGW, Phil.-hist. Klasse, n.f. 15). 56 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1914. — *Zahn, Th.*, Das dritte Buch des Lukas (NkZ, 1917, 373–395). — *Van den Bergh van Eysinga, G. A.*, De geneesherr Lucas; Lucas en Josephus; De evangeliegeschiedenis als bron der handelingen; Lucas' doel met de uitgave der handelingen (NThT, 1916, 228–250; 1917, 141–150; 1918, 212–222; 1919, 366–384). — *Greidanus, S.*, Doel van de Handelingen der Apostelen (GerefThT 20, 1920, 345–362, 385–396). — *Frölich, R.*, Das Zeugnis der Apostelgeschichte von Christus und das religiöse Denken in Indien (Arbeiten für Missionswissenschaft 2). 74 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918.

B

Schmidt, K. L., Die Pfingsterzählung und das Pfingstereignis (Arbeiten zur Religionsgeschichte des Urchristentums 1). 36 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1919. — *Schmiedel, P. W.*, Pfingsterzählung und Pfingstereignis (PrM 24, 73-86). — *Mentz, A.*, Die Zusammenkunft der Apostel in Jerusalem und die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte (ZNW 18, 1917, 177-195). — *Völter, D.*, Der Bericht über das Apostelconcil in Act. 15 nach der Auffassung von W. Bousset (NThT, 1915, 123-140). — *Brun, L.*, Apostelkonzil und Aposteldekret (NoTT, 1920, 1-52). — *Venetianer, L.*, Die Beschlüsse zu Lydda und das Apostelkonzil zu Jerusalem (Festschrift für Ad. Schwarz, 417-423). Berlin, 1917. — *Weinreich, O.*, De dis ignotis quaestiones selectae (AR, 1915, 1-52). — *Dölger, F. J.*, "Dem gemeinsamen Gott" (Missionsblätter für Studierende und Gebildete 6, 6-11).

A

The most important recent work on Acts, and a contribution of lasting value, is unquestionably *Zahn's* attempt to reconstruct the oldest Latin version and then the 'Western' Greek text. The result is far and away superior to the 'Western' texts of Blass and Hilgenfeld. Few will agree that these texts of Zahn represent the actual first edition of Luke himself, but in any case Zahn has put together (though of course not in every detail) a definite second-century recension. To the Latin text Zahn has added detailed text-critical notes and a glossary, and to the Greek text similar notes; both series often treat of matters of exegesis. Each text is provided with a full apparatus, very conveniently organized and easily used, and of extraordinary accuracy, although there are occasional slips, not always corrected later in the volume, and the amazing trustworthiness of Tischendorf's Editio octava still holds its primacy. In some cases in the later chapters the statements and views of the 'Urausgabe' are corrected or modified in the notes of Zahn's Commentary on Acts, which this textual volume is designed to accompany. For the Latin Zahn has used the newly discovered 'Prophetiae ex omnibus libris collectae,' from which he takes into the Greek as well as the Latin text the variant (13, 2) *Lucius Cyrenaeus qui manet usque adhuc*; he naturally regards this as a proof that the 'Western' recension goes back to Luke himself. Zahn recognizes the defects of Codex Bezae, from which (and from the Latin) he departs in the Apostolic

decree, adopting the oriental text. He also makes justified use of the margin of the Harclean Syriac, as representing an Old Syriac version of Acts prior to the Peshitto; his reasons here are open to question, but his result is probably sound. See Leipoldt, ThLBl 37, 441-444; Hans von Soden, DLZ, 1921; W. Bauer, ThR, 1917, 117-122 (with detailed criticism); Sickenger, BiblZ, 1917, 373.

Wellhausen's analysis of Acts was the last work on the New Testament of that great scholar († 1917). It was finished in 1911, but not published until 1914. His 'Noten zur Apostelgeschichte' (1907) are embodied in the later publication. Wellhausen pays special heed to 'seams and joints,' seeks to detect sources, points out doublets, etc. In the chronology he follows E. Schwartz. His theory is interesting that both in the story of the riot at Ephesus and in the account of Paul's voyage narratives of entirely different origin have been transferred to the history of Paul. The paper is full of acute remarks, often seasoned with Attic salt. See Windisch, DLZ, 1917, No. 24; W. Bauer, ThR, 1917, 116 f.

Zahn in his article brings to bear many good arguments for the view that Luke intended to write a third book, not so much the use of *πρῶτον*, Acts 1, 1, as the recountal of all the topics omitted in Acts which could furnish the material for a third volume, — the travels of the other Apostles, the trial of Paul in the emperor's court, the fate of the Palestinian Christians in the Jewish war, and the course of the divine judgment.

G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, the most important follower of van Manen, and representative of the radical New Testament school in Holland, attacks Harnack's position in favor of the tradition, and seeks to establish the radical theory of the origin of Acts. He explains from 2 Tim. 4, 11 the tradition that Luke wrote Acts. The notion that the author of Acts exhibits the result of medical training he criticises keenly and wittily, reaching the same conclusion as that to which Cadbury's learned discussion has since brought scholars. He also endeavors, following Krenkel, to prove that Luke was acquainted with Josephus, laying special weight upon the parallels in Josephus to Acts 5, 36 f.; 11, 28 f.; 25, 11; 23, 22 f. In the

subsequent article (1918) he shows how Luke frequently employs motives taken from the Gospels to embellish the narrative in Acts and to magnify the Apostles, as in Acts 9, 36-43; 3, 2-10; 16, 8-13; 7, 59 f.; 6, 13 f. Finally, he endeavors to define the purpose of Acts in the line of the post-Tübingen criticism: Luke meant to show how Christianity came from Jerusalem to Rome and from the Jews to the gentiles and at the same time to prove on the one hand the political harmlessness of the Christians and on the other the reprobateness of the Jews. From these motives it follows that the book was composed in the time of Hadrian. See also the article by the same author "Dubleiten in Handelingen," NThT, 1921, 274-300.

In opposition to these views *Greidanus* tries to give a more theological definition of the purpose of Acts: Acts described the carrying on of the work of Jesus in the Apostolic Church and the history of the Apostolic "testimony concerning Jesus Christ."

The Leipzig missionary *Frölich* contributes to the growing literature which aims to gain illumination on New Testament problems from missionary experience. He treats of a large number of significant points running through the Book of Acts, and sets the Apostles' narratives in the light of the experiences and conflicts of Christian missions in India. His themes are: the office of the Apostles as witnesses; Christian and Indian love of truth (on Acts 1); the history of Jesus as it is attested by Peter and experienced in India (on Acts 2); the Master and the Gurus (on Acts 3-5); the work of the Servant of Jehovah (on Acts 7-8); the reality of the forgiveness of sins (on Acts 10 and 13); natural revelation and the gospel (on Acts 16 and 17); "the words of truth and soberness" and the fulfilment of the prophetic words (on Acts 26).

K. L. Schmidt endeavors by the aid of the psychology of religion to give grounds for a more favorable judgment on the historical character of the narrative of the events at Pentecost, contending that the narrative of Acts 2 is but a slightly exaggerated account of an occasion of 'collective ecstasy,' in which the assembled Jews and proselytes were profoundly affected by the glossolalia (not exactly like that of 1 Corinthians) of the

Apostles. He interprets the text as meaning not that the speakers spoke foreign languages, but that the foreign hearers received a miraculous impression. See Bultmann, *ThLZ*, 1920, No. 17-18. *Schmiedel* with good reason contests Schmidt's explanation, and shows that the legendary influences in Acts 2 are stronger than Schmidt thinks.

A. Mentz analyzes Acts 15 into two sources: (1) M, 11, 27-28; 11, 29-30; 12, 25; 13, 2-14, 28; (2) V, (13, 1) 15, 1; 15, 2-21; 15, 22-35; 15, 41-16, 6, thus identifying the two journeys to Jerusalem of chapter 11 and chapter 15. The council took place in A.D. 44. He has a peculiar theory that Symeon (Acts 15, 14) was not Simon Peter but Symeon Niger (Acts 13, 1).

L. Brun thinks that Paul did not feel personally bound by the decree, although out of consideration for the authorities and other Jewish Christians in Jerusalem he allowed it to be issued without protesting against it. He was later embarrassed by this attitude, and consequently is silent on the subject in Galatians. But from Gal. 2, 3-5; 2, 6 we may infer that he had made concessions to others, and that on these others some requirement had been imposed.

Völter strikes out from Acts 15 the speech of Peter and the provisos of James as later additions, and identifies the journey of chapter 15 with that of chapter 11. He supposes that the author deliberately inserted the journey to Asia Minor (Acts 13 and 14) in the middle of the account of the journey to Jerusalem which he found in his source. The latter account began with Acts 11, 27-30, and continued in what is now Acts 15, 3 ff. The journey to Asia Minor was really subsequent to the Apostolic Council.

L. Venetianer compares the Apostolic Council with the decisions of Jewish rabbis at Lydda during the persecution under Hadrian, and regards as the model for the provisos of James the rule that a Jew has the duty of accepting martyrdom only in the three cases of compulsion to idolatry, incest, or murder. See *BiblZ* 14, 374.

O. Weinreich, in connection with the passage from Philostratus adduced by E. Norden as source for Paul's speech on Mars' Hill, discusses various testimonies and inscriptions con-

nected with the theme of the 'unknown gods,' namely, Pausanias i, 17, 1 (on the notable piety of the Athenians); altars for new gods; Jerome on Tit. 1, 12; the inscriptions with ἀγνώστοι θεοί (always in the plural); Pap. Giss. No. 3 ἤκω σοι . . . οὐκ ἀγνώστος Φοῖβος θεός, etc.

Dölger adds one inscription in the singular: κοινῷ θεῷ (Tunis, second century), which, he thinks, assures the possibility of an inscription ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. The 'unknown god' may have been a mystery-divinity which was unknown to the uninitiated. Dölger denies dependence of Acts on Philostratus, since the source of the biography of Apollonius owed its origin to the sun-worship of the third century. See *BiblZ* 15, 184.

V. PAUL AND HIS EPISTLES

1. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF PAUL

Plooij, D., De Chronologie van het Leven van Paulus. vii, 195 pp. Leiden, Brill, 1918. — *Weber, V.*, Die antiochenische Kollekte, die übersehene Hauptorientierung für die Paulusforschung. Grundlegende Radikalkur zur Geschichte des Urchristentums. xvi, 96 pp. Würzburg, Bauch, 1917.

Plooij (pastor at Leiden, conservative) has collected the archaeological and historical material completely and admirably. Particularly good is the treatment of the well known Gallio-inscription, which provides us with a relatively certain date for at least one important event in the life of Paul. In accordance with this, *Plooij* fixes Gallio's official year as May 51 to May 52, and assigns the meeting of Paul and Gallio to June or July 51. Further, relying upon an ingenious, though scarcely certain, hypothesis, he adopts the year 59 as the date of the change in office in the procuratorship of Palestine (Felix-Festus), which is so important for the chronology of Paul. He reaches this result from the statement in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius that Festus was appointed procurator in the tenth year of Agrippa II, but he reckons the years not from the death of Agrippa I, but from the appointment of Agrippa II as king in the year 50. But, like others, he does not relieve us from the difficulty that Pallas, whose intercession secured for Felix a not unfavorable welcome from Nero, had according to Tacitus been disgraced since 55.

Plooij follows the South Galatian theory, which he discusses in detail; he identifies the proceedings in Jerusalem described in Gal. 2 with the journey to bring the relief-fund of Acts 11; and puts Galatians itself before Acts 15 (in the year 48). See M. Jones, *Exp.* 1919; Windisch, *ThT*, 1919; F. W. Grosheide, *GerefThT*, 1918; A. Jülicher, *GGA* (to be published).

The chronology of the New Testament is a field for free investigation which has not yet been closed to Catholic scholars by the papal Biblical Commission. Ample use of this freedom is made by *V. Weber*, professor of theology at Würzburg, whose favorite theme is the chronological study of Galatians. Like Plooij he supports the South Galatian hypothesis and dates Galatians before the Apostolic Council (A.D. 49; Acts 15 being A.D. 50). In his latest work he devotes himself especially to the Antiochian relief-fund of Acts 11, 29 f., with which he identifies the efforts of Paul referred to in Gal. 2, 10b. While, however, Plooij directly identifies the relief-fund journey of Acts 11, 29 f. with that of Gal. 2, 1 ff.,¹ Weber thinks that the fund was not collected until after the meeting described in Gal. 2, 1 ff., and that the relief of the poor was a new point, being the method agreed on for ratifying the missionary compact then accepted.

I have expressed my objections to the exegesis of Plooij in *ThT*, 1919, pp. 171 f. It is, to be sure, remarkable that the two sentences related in meaning should have so similar a structure: Acts 11, 30 *ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς Βαρνάβα καὶ Σαύλου*; Gal. 2, 10 *ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι*; and the question arises whether it is possible that Luke had in mind here the language of Galatians. Yet we must not allow ourselves to be misled by the likeness. The execution of the agreement of Gal. 2, 10b cannot, as Plooij assumes, have preceded the compact; the identification of the two journeys is impossible. Weber has seen this, yet his own view creates new difficulties. Ac-

¹ Under that view Gal. 2, 10 would mean: 'The men of Jerusalem asked us to keep on remembering the poor in the future, — the very purpose for which I had actually just come to Jerusalem.'

cording to him the relief journey of Acts 11, 29 f. was subsequent to the meeting of Gal. 2, 1-10. Why then did Luke completely fail to mention this motive for the collection, and make no reference at all to the extremely important meeting of the Apostles (Gal. 2, 1 ff.)? Weber's argument to show that Gal. 2 and Acts 15 are reports of two different events, is not convincing, although he makes clear the differences of the two accounts. If we hold to the identity of Gal. 2, 1-10 and Acts 15, then necessarily all relation between Acts 11, 29 f. and Gal. 2, 10 disappears, while on the other hand the trustworthiness of the whole story of a relief-fund journey undertaken by Paul, and not merely by Barnabas, becomes questionable.

2. CHRONOLOGY OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES

Feine, P., Die Abfassung des Philipperbriefs in Ephesus, mit einer Anlage über Röm. 16, 3-20 als Epheserbrief (BFTb 20, 1916). 149 pp. — *Hadorn, W.*, Die Abfassung der Thessalonicherbriefe in der Zeit der dritten Missionsreise des Paulus (BFTb 24, 1919). 134 pp. — *Hadorn, W.*, Die Abfassung der Thessalonicherbriefe auf der dritten Missionsreise and der Kanon des Marcion (ZNW 19, 67-71).

As in the case of Galatians so with Philippians a new dating and position in the series has for some time been under discussion.¹ In Germany *P. Feine* (professor at Halle) has tried to establish elaborately the hypothesis proposed by Lisco, Deissmann, and Albertz that Philippians belongs to a period of imprisonment at Ephesus. (See also his *Einleitung in das N. T.*, 2. Aufl., 1918, pp. 142 ff.) His *first* argument is founded upon the vehement polemic of Paul in Phil. 3, which he believes to be directed not against Jews, but against Jewish Christian opponents, and which must therefore be assigned to the great period of controversy with pseudo-christian Judaism. This argument assumes that the conflict later ceased; Romans, with its calm and well-considered exposition of the gospel, being evidently written after a settlement had been reached. The sharp attack of Romans 16, 17-20 must also belong to an earlier period. Two objections suggest themselves to this view,

¹ See K. Lake and B. W. Bacon in *Expositor* (8th series), 8 and 9; Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the N. T.*, 3d ed., p. 622.

which in itself is not unacceptable. In the first place, it seems to me that a reference of the polemic in Philippians to non-Christian Jews is by no means impossible. Indeed this is rather the more natural way to take it; Paul merely contrasts Judaism and Christianity, *tertium non datur*. In *κατὰ ζήλον διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* (3, 6) only Jews (and not Jewish Christians) could see a reason for confidence in the flesh. There is no suggestion of an incomplete conversion or of any lack of clearness as to the full bearing of Christian faith, no such utterance as we read in 2 Cor. 5, 16. Again, even if the passage were directed against Jewish Christians, it is possible that the conflict with the Judaizers lasted on or was rekindled. More significant seems to me a *second* argument urged by Feine; namely, the resemblance (long ago emphasized by Lightfoot) in style, contents, and theology between Philippians on the one hand and the epistles of the earlier period (Thess., Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., and Rom.) on the other, while the true 'epistles of the imprisonment,' Colossians and Ephesians, obviously present a sharp contrast to Philippians as well as to the earlier epistles, and in any case represent in their theology a later stage in the development of Pauline thought. A *third* argument is found by comparing the statements about the trial of Paul in Acts 23 ff. with the allusions in Phil. 1 f. The strict confinement which Philippians implies is not attested by Acts; and that Paul's situation grew worse after two years Feine does not think probable. *Fourthly*, Feine seeks to show that the two passages often taken to refer directly to Rome — the mention of the *praetorium* and the greeting from the imperial slaves — point to a provincial city like Ephesus rather than to the capital. *Finally*, he brings up the particular circumstances of the writing of Philippians, especially the points that according to 1, 17-30 the founding of the church did not lie in the distant past, and that there had been easy and active intercourse between Paul and the church. For these and other reasons Feine dates Philippians in the middle of Paul's long stay at Ephesus, A.D. 54.

In the 'Appendix' Feine presents a detailed argument for the widely held hypothesis that we have in Rom. 16, 3-20 an

epistle to the Ephesians, with special reference to the counter-arguments of Lightfoot. There are, as he explains in an interesting investigation, no conclusive reasons for believing that the persons named in the greetings were in Rome, and Rufus is not the Christian mentioned in Mark 15, 21, and often supposed to be living in Rome. The only novelty in his treatment is his mode of explaining why an epistle to the Ephesians came to be appended to the Epistle to the Romans. Phoebe, the bearer of the Epistle to the Romans, had to go by way of Ephesus on business; consequently Paul added to his Epistle to the Romans (which he wished to have read to the Ephesians) greetings to his Ephesian friends.

The problem of Philippians is an old story, but the monograph of *Hadorn* (professor at Bern) undertakes to overthrow a view which seemed absolutely firm and which no one seriously questioned. The current opinion is that the two epistles to the Thessalonians were written at Corinth only a few months after the formation of the church in Thessalonica. Hadorn believes that this time is too short to cover the events and developments implied in these epistles, and for this and other reasons he proposes to transfer both epistles to the period of the so-called 'third missionary journey,' or rather to the long stay at Ephesus.

Hadorn's line of argument closely resembles that of Feine in the very important proof which he presents that the Thessalonian epistles give evidence of close internal kinship to 1 and 2 Corinthians. The defence of himself which the Apostle finds it necessary to make in 1 Thess. 2 and 3 resembles in contents and style the apologetic and polemic passages in 2 Cor., and finds its explanation in them. This accords with the fact that the religious movement which Paul opposes in 1 Thessalonians is in many respects similar to tendencies attested for Corinth in 1 and 2 Corinthians. In this connection Hadorn adduces the doubts as to the resurrection, the libertinistic tendencies, the advice about spiritual gifts, the disturbances of order, etc. In his view we might almost regard 1 Thessalonians as a kind of extract from the epistles to the Corinthians. On this similarity rests his main argu-

ment, outlined above. Since the tendency did not crystallize in Corinth for a long time after Paul's first departure from that church, a few months is not enough to account for similar events in Thessalonica. Other circumstances, too, such as the rapidity of the 'spiritual' development in the Thessalonian church, the spread of the fame of that church throughout the world (1 Thess. 1, 7), the existence of a definite, ordered church government, the cases of death, etc., weigh against accepting so short an interval. To be sure, the familiar statements in 1 Thess. 3, 1 ff. require that Paul should have been in Greece in the interval since the growth of the objectionable Thessalonian tendencies. Since this passage does not tally verbally with Acts, Hadorn is able to connect it with the so-called intermediate visit to Corinth, and supposes that Paul's purpose to visit Thessalonica was frustrated by the disturbances at Corinth.

The case of 2 Thessalonians is similar; but Hadorn, like some before him, thinks that it preceded 1 Thessalonians. Using for this inversion the same arguments as J. Weiss (*Urchristentum*, pp. 217 ff.), he puts particular emphasis on the observation that the second epistle nowhere refers to the first, but rather has the appearance of a first epistle to the church. In itself considered, 2 Thessalonians could well have come from the first stay in Corinth; for Hadorn recognizes in *ὁ κατέχων* the Emperor Claudius, and so gains the year 54 as *terminus ad quem* for the epistle. But since the general situation of the second epistle is like that of the first, the second also must be assigned to the Ephesian period, although to an earlier stage of it.

It is easier to pass judgment on this suggestive hypothesis than on the new date for Philippians. Much in it is attractive, especially the proof that 1 Thessalonians reflects a situation similar to that of the Corinthian epistles, and the explanation that it would have been a miracle if painful disturbances, such as took years to develop in Corinth, had arisen in Thessalonica in a few weeks or months. Nevertheless, so late a date is impossible, being forbidden by the fact that in 1 Thessalonians the impressions of the first contact are still so fresh, much

fresher than in 1 Corinthians or Philippians. Moreover, the stay of Paul in Beroea and Athens, and afterwards the residence of eighteen months in Corinth, cover more than "some few months." If the Thessalonian epistles are dated toward the end of the Corinthian period, and not near its beginning, we have more than a year for the development of the situation. And if, with Hadorn, we date the epistles later, in the beginning of the Ephesian period, we meet the objection that it is wholly improbable that Paul should have sent no letter to the Thessalonians during his eighteen months in Corinth.

That the order of the two Thessalonian epistles ought to be reversed has not been proved.¹

3. GENUINENESS OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES

Weinel, H., Die Echtheit der Paulinischen Hauptbriefe im Lichte des antignostischen Kampfes (Festgabe für J. Kaftan, 376-393). Tübingen, Mohr, 1920. — *Wrzot, Josef*, Die Echtheit des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes (BSt 19). 152 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1916. — *Brückner, W.*, Die Zeitlage der Briefe an die Kolosser und Epheser (PrM, 1918, 68-83, 130-138, 163-181). — *Torm, F.*, Über die Sprache in den Pastoralbriefen (ZNW 18, 1918, 225-243).

Weinel's new argument for the genuineness of the chief Pauline epistles deals with an important point, for he brings the question into the light of the great antignostic struggle. The Pauline epistles show that gnostic tendencies already existed; but the way in which Paul opposes the 'gnostic' positions (things offered to idols, sexual life, etc.), while at the same time representing certain gnostic ideas himself, shows plainly that the great struggle had not yet begun. This is an important point of view for the date of the epistles.

The book of *Josef Wrzot* (Catholic *Religionslehrer* in Austrian Silesia) has as its object to dissipate the last suspicion

¹ In the supplementary article in ZNW Hadorn appeals to the order of the epistles in the canon of Marcion: Gal., 1 Cor., 2 Cor., Rom., 1 Thess., 2 Thess., Eph., Col. Philem., Phil. This argument of course proves nothing if the internal reasons are not convincing. Jülicher (ThLZ, 1919, No. 21-22) and von Dobschütz (LZBl, 1920, No. 1) reject the argument, as well as F. W. Grosheide, 'De Methode om de volgorde der Paulinische Brieven te bepalen, in het bijzonder in verband met de Brieven aan de Thessalonicensen onderzocht' (GerefThT, 30, 262-270, 305-319); on the other hand de Zwaan (NThSt, 1919, p. 259) seems on the whole to agree with it.

of the genuineness of 2 Thessalonians. It is written with the thoroughness and prolixity customary in such works. In a history of the problem the most important arguments against genuineness are presented *in extenso*: (1) the contradiction in the eschatology (2 Thess. 2 in contrast with 1 Thess. 4-5); (2) the literary dependence of 2 Thess. upon 1 Thess. and its un-pauline language — Wrede's main argument; (3) the references which betray a forger in 2 Thess. 2, 2 and 3, 17; (4) the impersonal character of 2 Thessalonians, especially as emphasized by Spitta. These arguments the author tries to meet by setting forth the historical and psychological background implied in the epistles. In 2 Thess. 2, 2 [cf. (3) above] it has been deemed strange that Paul treats so slightly the report of the circulation in Thessalonica of a false letter bearing his name, — but Wrzōł explains this on the ground that Paul lacked sure information and wavered as to whether 1 Thess. had been misunderstood, or an epistle actually forged. Assuming the second possibility, he wrote in a tone of criticism 3, 17. To explain the close kinship between 1 Thess. and 2 Thess. [cf. (2) above] Wrzōł follows the theory of Zahn. He supposes that the epistles of Paul were dictated, and that from the first draft a fair copy was made, an hypothesis which is certainly admissible for 1 Thess. Now there was a reason which might have led Paul to study the draft of 1 Thess. in the composition of 2 Thess., namely the suspicions mentioned in 2 Thess. 2, 2, which made it desirable both to confirm and supplement the assurances and admonitions given in 1 Thess. Even if Wrzōł exaggerates in details, yet his leading idea seems to be correct. The contradiction in the tendency of the eschatological warnings in 1 Thess. [cf. (1) above] Wrzōł seeks to obviate by the remark, first, that according to 1 Thess. 5, 1 ff. only the heathen are destined to be surprised, not the Christians, who have been informed about times and tokens, and, secondly, that the same difference is also found in the eschatological discourses of Jesus. This reply is scarcely satisfactory. In 1 Thess. 5 there is surely no thought whatever of the contents of 2 Thess. 2; a writer who has in mind the apocalyptic ideas of that chapter cannot possibly shape his exhortation as it stands

in 1 Thess. 5. As for the Synoptic Gospels, these are the product of literary compilation, and that all the elements come from Jesus is not certain. The psychological difficulty here is, however, hardly serious enough to make us doubt the genuineness of 2 Thess. What Wrzot says about the supposed impersonal character of the second epistle [cf. (4) above] has my approval. But the whole essay seems to have been written without reference to the more recent discussions.

A problem akin to that just discussed is presented by the peculiar relation between Ephesians and Colossians. K. Lake (Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity, pp. 122 f.), referring to the difficulty of the question, has recently shown his sympathy with Holtzmann's solution, and in any case opposed the popular view that Colossians is genuine, Ephesians not genuine. Meanwhile *W. Brückner* (Karlsruhe) has published in a series of articles a study moving in part on the line laid down by Holtzmann. He gives an historical survey of the development of the problem, here taking ground in opposition to Dibelius, who represents the 'popular' opinion, and to Soltau (ThStKr, 1905, 521-562), who has made still more complicated Holtzmann's analysis by drawing into the discussion the Epistle to the Laodiceans. Brückner dwells especially on the doctrinal contents, and on the literary dependence of Ephesians on 1 Peter. The ideas of both Colossians and Ephesians are, according to Brückner, post-pauline, gnostic. The terminology is dependent on the language of the mysteries. In addition a form of logos-speculation appears which stands in an intermediate position between that of Hebrews and of John, while the epistles differ from both these writings in their neglect of the humanity and historical character of Jesus. (This last observation is much to the point.) The greater simplicity of thought in 1 Peter (which Brückner places in the period of Trajan) proves the priority of the latter. Unfortunately Brückner has failed to discuss in detail the literary relation between Colossians and Ephesians. He merely distinguishes three strata; (1) the original Colossians of Paul (ethical exhortation, warnings against false doctrine, epistolary sections); (2) the introduction of a cosmic christology into

Colossians; (3) the composition of Ephesians on the basis of Colossians, the passages being added which touch on the doctrine of the church. Col. 1, 18 and 2, 19 are interpolations.

The difficulty, indeed, of all investigations in the history of language and style is shown by the work of *F. Torm* (professor at Copenhagen). It is in the main a discussion of Holtzmann's criticism of the Pastoral Epistles. Torm shows how questionable many of Holtzmann's critical judgments are. If the use of language is to be a factor in criticism, it is not sufficient to make lists of *hapax legomena*, and to show that specifically Pauline words are lacking; we must also examine the individual cases, seek the natural reasons for the phenomena, attend to corresponding conditions in the other epistles, and, especially, must group the phenomena in accordance with the groups of epistles. Thus Torm succeeds in proving that a whole series of Holtzmann's arguments are not convincing. It is interesting that he is able to point out some fairly close connections between the Pastorals and Group III (Eph., Phil., Col.). But many arguments of importance have not been touched upon by Torm, and consequently have not lost their force.

4. INTEGRITY OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES

Schanse, W., Der Galaterbrief (Das Neue Testament schallanalytisch untersucht. 1. Stück). 1. Aufl. iv, 36 pp.; 2. Aufl. xvi, 12 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918, 1919. — *Jülicher, A.*, Eine Epoche in der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft? (PrM 24, 1920, 41-56). — *Lietzmann H.*, (GGA, 1919, 223-229, 401-419).

Literary criticism of the N. T. would have to be placed on an entirely new footing if we could use with certainty for the discovery of the literary relations of ancient texts the method of sound-analysis, which has been elaborated by Eduard Sievers, the well-known Germanist at Leipzig, in collaboration with the student of phonetics, J. Rutz, and which has been employed with much success in the field of Middle High German literature. By sound-analysis is meant the method of discovering definite types of rhythm and melody, to produce which psychological and physiological factors (posture, move-

ment of the arms) combine.¹ Sievers and his pupils believe that they can discover the individual rhythm of an author, and thereby distinguish foreign elements as editorial or interpolative. Every student of the criticism of the Pauline epistles understands that it would be extremely important if the investigation of their unity and genuineness could be conducted by more exact technical methods, but the study which *Schanze*, a pupil of Sievers, offers as a first essay removes for the moment any expectation here. The result is completely useless for anyone who, though a layman in sound-analysis, is a professional in the literary and theological investigation of the epistles. Without regard to meaning or connection, the method of sound-analysis applied to Galatians simply mangles the epistle. A Pauline foundation is indeed admitted; but between the Pauline sections a second leading voice intrudes, without rhyme or reason, to which especially the proof from Scripture in chap. 3 is to be attributed; in addition smaller passages are contributed by others (to whom belong such characteristic fragments as 1, 10-12, 22-24; 4, 24-29; 3, 1-4); and there are interpolators. As the voice-analyst explains, the non-pauline elements distinguish themselves, in contrast to the peculiar fresh and vigorous rhythm of Paul, by a cool, sensible, and didactic tone. So the dialectic passages in particular are denied to Paul, — an opinion in which no one who is not a sound-analyst will concur. The new method might command more attention if it enabled us to determine with some inner verisimilitude the possible share of an 'epistolary partner.' But, according to *Schanze*, even in the larger passages we have to do with a later wholesale interpolator.

In a detailed investigation *Jülicher* has criticized *Schanze's* analysis. He rightly emphasizes that Paul's nature was far richer and more complicated than would appear on the basis of the fragments which *Schanze* ascribes to him; that Paul often operates with borrowed material (quotations from the LXX, liturgical and hortatory formulas, etc.); and that the genesis of Galatians, as *Schanze* puts it before us, is hard to imagine. *Lietzmann's* experiment is instructive; with a text arbitrarily

¹ Eduard Sievers, *Metrische Studien* IV, Leipzig, 1918.

compounded from six or seven sources, sound-analysis failed to analyze it correctly, though it was able to indicate some of the interpolations.¹

5. COMMENTARIES ON THE PAULINE EPISTLES

Lietzmann, H., Einführung in die Textgeschichte der Paulusbriefe. An die Römer (Handbuch zum N. T.). 2. Aufl. 129 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. — *Barth, K.*, Der Römerbrief. 440 pp. Bern, Bäschlin, 1919. — *Koch, L. J.*, Fortolkning til Paulus' andet brev til Korinthierne. 451 pp. Copenhagen, Frimodt, 1914-1917.

Lietzmann's Romans is the first of the commentaries of the *Handbuch* to appear in a second edition. Wholly new is his excellent introduction to the textual problems of the epistles. From the origin of the collection of Pauline epistles, for understanding which the analogy of the collection of the epistles of Ignatius is brought into service, Lietzmann proceeds to survey the three groups of texts: Egyptian (BNAC a78 sah boh, etc.), Western (DG Ambrst Pelag vulg, etc.), and Byzantine (KLP min pesh goth, etc.). Any use of the text of Pamphilus-Eusebius must await a fuller determination of that text than has yet been made. In the Western text Lietzmann suspects the influence of Marcion. For the discovery of the best text it is necessary to eliminate the secondary Byzantine and Western variants and take the Egyptian text as the foundation. The commentary treats the more important variants. In the exegesis everything of consequence published since 1906 has been used. In Rom. 7, 24 Lietzmann has now abandoned the change of order and the omission which he formerly defended. The excursus on 'Flesh and Spirit' has been enlarged in view of Reitzenstein's investigations; likewise that on 'Jesus the Lord' (10, 9) in dependence on Bousset. An excursus on *οι άγιοι* (15, 25) is new. As for the textual history of the last two chapters, the excision of chapters 15 and 16 was due to Marcion, the doxology (16, 25-27) is perhaps from Marcionite circles.²

¹ Cf. also E. Sievers, H. Lietzmann und die Schallanalyse. Eine Kritik und eine Selbstkritik (Das Neue Testament schallanalytisch untersucht. 2. Stuck). 48 pp. 1919. — For a very good review see G. Kittel, Die Schallanalyse und das Neue Testament (ThLBl, 1922, 1). — H. Lietzmann is preparing a reply.

² On this latter hypothesis see Harnack, 'Über 1. Kor. 14, 32 ff. und Röm. 16, 25 ff. nach der ältesten Überlieferung und der Marcionitischen Bibel' (SAB, 1919, 527-

The elaborate exposition of Romans by the Swiss pastor, *Karl Barth*, is of different calibre from Lietzmann's commentary, with the latter's constant use of philology and the history of religions. 'Historical' exegesis is here taken for granted, yet the book is essentially a representative of the new religious enthusiasm which is endeavoring to emerge from the intellectual, political, and social confusion of Central Europe, and to create a new foundation for the life of the spirit on a religious and Christian basis. Barth belongs to the younger generation, which is translating the old Pauline gospel into our language, and by means of genuine Pauline Christianity, thus modernized, seeks to overthrow and destroy everything actually or supposedly irreconcilable with it, — religious individualism, theology based on experience, intellectualism, imperialism in every form, ecclesiasticism, socialism, bolshevism. The shattering of all false human ideals, the outbreak of a creative revolution, wrought by God, which shall bring to birth a new human race and introduce a new era in human history, — this is the great ideal, the powerful reality, which has possessed the author and which in all its concrete applications he finds in Paul. The book excited much attention in Switzerland and Germany, and has evoked thoughtful discussion. See especially Jülicher, *ChrW*, 1920, Nos. 29 and 30.¹

The Danish scholar, *Koch*, defends the unity of 2 Corinthians, except that 6, 14–7,1 may belong to the epistle which preceded 1 Corinthians. He accepts the hypothesis of a letter, but rejects that of a visit, in the interval between 1 and 2 Corinthians, but holds that a second visit of Paul to Corinth took place shortly before the composition of 1 Corinthians. The value of the commentary lies in its detailed exegesis, and especially in the lexicographical material.

536), where the words *καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ τὰ γραφῶν προφητικῶν*, and *γνωρισθέντος* are removed as glosses, and the original form of the doxology then attributed to Marcionites. The doxology certainly could have been written by a Marcionite, but equally well by a non-marcionite follower of Paul (cf. Eph. 3, 9 f.), or even (to judge by 1 Cor. 2, 8) by Paul himself.

¹ A second edition, with a remarkable preface, "in neuer Bearbeitung" has appeared in 1922 (xvii, 523 pp., Munich, Kaiser). Since 1921 Barth has been professor of Calvinistic (Reformed) Theology at Göttingen.

6. RISE OF THE PAULINE CANON

Hartke, W., Die Sammlung und die ältesten Ausgaben der Paulusbriefe. 87 pp. Bonn, Georgi, 1917.

The work of *W. Hartke* at least draws attention to the problem it treats. On various grounds it may be assumed that small collections of Pauline epistles were early in existence, certainly soon after the death of Paul. The need of having the apostolic word in written form must have been felt at once, and somewhere and at some time a collection must have been made which served as a model for others. Since our collection includes no letters to Antioch or other Syrian churches (although Paul must have written to them), it may be concluded that the standard edition came into existence in Greece, Asia Minor, or Rome; the most probable supposition seems to be Asia Minor. Beyond these unobjectionable conclusions it seems hazardous to try to work out the history in further detail. *Hartke* offers a great mass of fantastic speculation about one collection made by Timothy and used by Marcion, and another due to Silas.¹

7. PAULINE THEOLOGY

A

Weinel, H., Paulus. Der Mensch und sein Werk: Die Anfänge des Christentums, der Kirche, und des Dogmas (Lebensfragen). 2. Aufl. 294 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1915. — *Heitmüller, W.*, Die Bekehrung des Paulus (ZThK 27, 1917, 136–153). — *Oepke, A.*, Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus. Eine biblisch-theologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung (Missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen 2). 240 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920. — *Stange, E.*, Paulinische Reisepläne (BFTh 22). 78 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1918. — *Mundle, W.*, Die Eigenart der paulinischen Frömmigkeit. 19 pp. Marburg, Elwert, 1920. — *Weiss, J.*, Die Bedeutung des Paulus für den modernen Christen (ZNW 19, 127–142). — *Deissner, K.*, Paulus und die Mystik seiner Zeit. 1. Aufl. 123 pp.; 2. Aufl. 148 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1918, 1921. — *Deissner, K.*, Paulus und Seneca (BFTh 21). 44 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1917. — *Weber, E.*, Die Formel "in Christo Jesu" und die paulinische Christusbegriff (NkZ 31, 213–260). — *Ubbink, J. Th.*, Het eeuwige leven bij Paulus. Een godsdiensthistorisch onderzoek. viii, 174, lxx pp. Groningen, Wolters, 1917. — *Schmidt, Tr.*, Der Leib

¹ Cf. E. Stange, 'Diktierpausen in den paulinischen Briefen' (ZNW 18, 1818, 109–117).

Christi (Σῶμα Χριστοῦ). Eine Untersuchung zum urchristlichen Gemeindegedanken. 256 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1919. — *Scharling, C. J.*, Ekklesiabegrebet hos Paulus og dets forhold til jodisk religion og hellenistisk mystik. 212 pp. Copenhagen, P. Branner Norregade, 1917. — *Philippi, F.*, Paulus und das Judentum nach den Briefen und der Apostelgeschichte. 68 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. — *Macholz*, Zum Verständnis des paulinischen Rechtfertigungsgedankens (ThStKr, 1915, 29-61). — *Kurze, G.*, Der Engels- und Teufelsglaube des Apostels Paulus. 168 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1915. — *Juncker, A.*, Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus. II. Hälfte: Die konkrete Ethik. viii, 308 pp. Halle, Niemeyer, 1919.

B

Steck, R., Geistliche Ehen bei Paulus (1 Kor. 7, 36-38) (SchwThZ 34, 177-189). — *Jülicher, A.*, Die Jungfrauen im ersten Korintherbrief (PrM 22, 97-119). — *Reitzenstein, R.*, Die Formel "Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung" bei Paulus (NGW, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1916, 367-416). — *Reitzenstein, R.*, Die Entstehung der Formel "Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung" (HZ, 1916, 189-208). — *Reitzenstein, R.*, Nachwort (NGW, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1917, 130-151). — *Harnack, A. von*, Über den Ursprung der Formel "Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung" (PrJ 164, 1916, 1-14); also in *Aus der Friedens- und Kriegsarbeit*, 1-20, Giessen, Töpelmann, 1916. — *Corssen, P.*, Paulus und Porphyrios I (Sokrates 73, 18-30). — *Corssen, P.*, Paulus und Porphyrios II (Zur Erklärung von 2 Kor. 3, 18) (ZNW 19, 2-10). — *Lütgert, W.*, Gesetz und Geist. Eine Untersuchung zur Vorgeschichte des Galaterbriefes (BFTh 22). 106 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1919. — *Jäger, W. W.*, Eine stilgeschichtliche Studie zum Philipperbrief (Hermes 50, 537-553). — *Jülicher, A.*, Ein philologisches Gutachten über Phil. 2, v. 6 (ZNW 17, 1916, 1-17). — *Schmidt, P. W.*, "Hielt es nicht für einen Raub, Gott gleich sein" (PrM, 1916, 171-176). — *Kittel, G.*, Rabbīnīca. Paulus im Talmud. Die "Macht" auf dem Haupte. Runde Zahlen (Arbeiten zur Religionsgeschichte des Urchristentums 1). 47 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920.

A

No new comprehensive work on the theology and religion of Paul has appeared. In the new edition of *Weinel's* Paulus the general purpose has remained the same, to make Paul intelligible to the modern reader as devout man and as theologian, and to remove misunderstandings and prejudices. *Weinel* tries to translate the ideas of Paul into the language of the present day and to bring out strongly the religious and human motives. A few new paragraphs have been added and the arrangement somewhat altered.

Heitmüller has written an important and thoughtful study of the conversion of Paul, with trenchant criticism of current

views. He insists that the moral conflict within the mind of the unredeemed man (Romans, chapter 7) is not to be used for an understanding of the spiritual condition of Paul before his conversion. The *ἐγώ* is not to be taken as personal and individual; and the point of view from which the chapter is written is that of the Christian, who has already received purification and who draws the picture in the light of his own experience.¹ Accordingly Heitmüller entirely rejects the idea of a moral collapse and the overthrow of legalistic moralism in connection with Paul's conversion. All that came in question was the messiahship of Jesus and the legitimacy of the mission to gentiles, that is, the abrogation of Jewish prerogative. The conversion was an ecstatic mystical experience in which the appearance of Christ was the centre, the annulment of the claims of the Law a secondary consequence. Heitmüller regards the doctrine of justification as a product of the later development of Paul as Christian and missionary. See E. Vischer, *ThR*, 1917, 371 ff.

A. Oepke has made a fairly successful attempt to elicit the actual missionary preaching of Paul from the epistles, with the aid of the narratives of Acts, and to discover its relations to the syncretistic environment of Jewish and heathen thought and life. On the whole he thinks that Paul adapted himself but little to his heathen environment, and that his knowledge of heathenism did not go beyond what he could hear and see in ordinary intercourse. The main elements of the missionary preaching (as distinguished from instruction of the baptized) he finds to have been the message of redemption through Jesus Christ, his incarnation, death, and resurrection, and the eschatological expectation, together with (as propaedeutic) faith in one God and the awakening of a consciousness of sin. Far from supposing that this preaching may have attached itself to heathen popular religion, a doctrine of mysteries, or philosophy, Oepke lays stress on the novelty and originality of the Christian gospel, and on the contrast, not the analogy, which it presented to these things. The gospel of the Son of God who

¹ On the problem of Romans 7 see the dissertation of H. S. Pretorius, *Bijdrage tot de exegese en de geschiedenis der exegese van Romeinen vii* (Amsterdam, 1915).

lived a true human life finds there no analogy. Doubtless the hearers were reminded of all sorts of heathen religious ideas, — means of expiation, hope of salvation, notions of the future; but the new message had its own peculiar character, and offered absolute certainty.

In the Pauline speeches of Acts Oepke sees the same general scheme. Only in the speech on Mars' Hill, which he treats in detail and the originality of which he defends against Norden, does the hellenistic stamp seem to him somewhat stronger, so that in this case some embellishment by Luke must be supposed. In the criticism of the inscription ('to the unknown god') he follows Birt (RhM, N.F. 69, 342 ff.); the inscription read $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}$ (without $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\omega$), but Paul had not seen it himself. Oepke's work is conceived as a foundation for a constructive history of Pauline theology in which attention is to be fixed upon its motive forces and inner structure.¹

According to *E. Stange* Paul's plans of travel were of two kinds, rational and irrational. Far-reaching strategic missionary plans played no great part, for Stange denies that Paul was concerned to work at the great centres. His plans were sometimes affected by the existence of Jewish colonies and synagogues, whether as points of attachment or as fostering attacks and intrigues. In his apostolic mission the extension of the gospel to cities hitherto untouched was of more importance than the care of the churches, the effect of which on the course of Paul's movements and on his periods of residence Stange unduly minimizes. Irrational motives appear in intimations of the will of God, actions of Satan, and revelations of the Lord, the last being especially mentioned in Acts. On the whole, irrational motives were rare, and were usually accompanied by rational purpose. Stange's running comparison with the motives which guided the travels of Apollonius of Tyana and with those mentioned in the apocryphal acts of the Apostles is highly instructive.

W. Mundle (privat-dozent at Marburg) finds the chief peculiarity of Paul's piety in the tensions and contradictions

¹ See also K. Pieper, *Die Missionspredigt des Paulus. Ihre Fundstellen und ihr Inhalt* (Predigtstudien 4). 126 pp., Paderborn, Schöningh, 1921.

which it manifests. His conversion relieved a certain tension, but engendered new inner conflicts which he never succeeded in wholly resolving, for example, regarding the Law, and in his attitude to Sin (now the consciousness of a 'spiritual' man free from sin, now that of the imperfect and agonizing soul). Deissner, on the other hand (ThGg, 1920, pp. 188 f.) sees the individuality and power of Paul's self-consciousness in the union of apparently contradictory feelings.

The significance for the modern church of this Pauline piety, which makes in many ways so strange an impression upon us, is discussed by *J. Weiss* in a rather slight posthumous article. The great and abiding significance resides in Paul's faith in God (creation, providence, election, loving will), in the religious kernel of the doctrine of justification, in the mystical union with Christ (in which, however, many elements which were essential for Paul have to be abandoned), and in the ethics (the law of love).

The tendency to give great scope to the hellenistic gnostic influences in Paul meets active opposition from the conservative side in Germany and Holland. *K. Deissner* treats chiefly the views of Reitzenstein and Bousset, and is mainly occupied with the doctrine ascribed to Paul of the double self (Paul under the control of the Spirit a different man). He tries to state as accurately as possible the differences between the Pauline gnosis and that of the Hermetic literature; the former having relation to ethics and the scheme of salvation, the latter being mystical and enthusiastic, operating with a natural force unrelated to the inner conflict of spirit and flesh. Hence Deissner understands by the Pauline *τελειος* the Christian who is ready to be guided by the Spirit; and denies that by *τελειοι* is intended a kind of élite, a body of supermen, or that Paul preached two gospels, one for the mature, one for the immature. The hellenistic type of gnosis is seen among the Corinthians in their enthusiasm, lack of moral seriousness, confidence in their own power, insistence on self-determination, and arrogance. This is important, but the contrast to this mysticism which Paul exhibits is not so complete that we can deny to Paul himself all relation to mysticism. Further, Deissner holds

that Paul did not, like the mystics, conceive the new self as wholly separate from the old (cf. 2 Cor. 12, 1 ff., and Gal. 2, 20, discussed by Reitzenstein); but his criticism is here exaggerated. He is partly right and partly wrong in describing the Pauline piety as not ecstatic, and Paul's mysticism as personal, not sacramental. To the second edition a descriptive sketch of Paul's piety has been added in which the mystical element is again minimized. See E. Posselt, *BphW*, 1918, No. 37-38, 1921, No. 19.

Deissner's study of Paul and Seneca does not cover the ground, the ideas compared being limited to the idea of eternity, the doctrine of God, the doctrine of man, and ethics. His account of the Pauline ideas in question is inadequate, and many of the analogies he has not touched. He properly calls attention to fundamental differences which should put us on our guard against hastily inferring that Paul derived his ideas from Seneca's philosophy. See J. Leipoldt, *ThLBl*, 1918, No. 5; Posselt, *BphW*, 1917, 1262 ff.; Ubbink, *NThSt*, 1918, 275-282; C. Clemen, *DLZ*, 1921, No. 32-33. On the theme, 'Paul and Seneca,' see also J. de Zwaan, 'Een broeder van Seneca tegenover Paulus' (*Stemmen des Tijds* 8, 43-74).

The merit of *E. Weber's* article resides in his contention that the formula 'in Christ Jesus' relates not only to the spiritual Christ, but also to the exalted Lord, who rules over us, and to the Mediator of Salvation, who brought salvation by his historical appearance on earth. Furthermore, the mystical relation is established by faith; and this circumstance lends to Paul's mysticism a unique character which distinguishes it from heathen mysticism, tending, as that does, to dissolve the relationships of personality. The hellenistic analogies do not lose their value through these considerations; but we see that Pauline mysticism, while it uses hellenistic formulas, is not identical with that form of mysticism, but is an intimate mingling of union with the spiritual Christ, obedient service of the Lord, and a mysticism founded in history.

With a method similar to that of Deissner *J. Th. Ubbink*, in his very learned doctor's dissertation on eternal life in Paul, takes up chiefly the theses of Reitzenstein and Bousset con-

cerning the influence on Paul of the mystery-religions and of mysticism. By the aid of grave-stones, the philosophical literature, and the documents of the mysteries, he sets forth the ideas about the other world and the future destinies of souls which prevailed in Paul's hellenistic environment. This section with the accompanying notes is very full, and does not lack value for those who reject the author's main position. That is presented in the third chapter, where a comparison of Pauline and hellenistic views leads to the conclusion that Paul is essentially independent. In this comparison the differences are continually exaggerated; and it is not convincingly shown that Old Testament doctrine suffices to explain the Pauline anthropology, which his eschatology assumes. Ubbink can see only contrasts to Paul in the religious ideas of the hellenistic world. Besides assembling an abundance of material he gives a great number of literary references. See *ThLZ*, 1918, No. 12-13. Of similar tendency is the inaugural lecture of Brouwer (professor at Utrecht), *Paulus Mysticus?* 1921. The answer is in the negative. J. P. Bang, 'Var Paulus "Mystiker"'? (TT 4, 45-128) I have not seen.

A freer attitude toward the problems of the history of religions was that of *Tr. Schmidt* (who fell in the war, 1918), as his excellent book shows. He gives an admirable exposition of the Pauline mysticism, and its assumptions, namely, the ideas of the *σῶμα Χριστοῦ*, the conception of Christ as exerting a continued activity (in the Spirit and in the sacraments), the relation between Christ and the Spirit, and between the exalted Christ and the historical Jesus. To whatever criticism details of this study may be exposed, it offers as a whole an illuminating account of the relations which bind together the mystical expressions of Paul. From the mystical relation between Christ and the individual Schmidt turns to that between Christ and the ecclesia. The church is the body of Christ infused with life by the Spirit, and by virtue of its relation to the spiritual Christ it acquires a kind of collective personality, with Christ as its head. From the point of view of the general history of religions significant parallels are drawn, both from Judaism — such as the relations between Messiah and people, Christ and Adam,

Christ and the Son of Man, — and on the hellenistic side from the idea of *anthropos*. Schmidt rejects the notion of direct borrowing from Hellenism, but holds to an organic kinship between the Pauline idea of Christ and the hellenistic 'primitive man.' With Reitzenstein's recent inquiries into the Iranian origin of this figure he had no opportunity to become acquainted.

The use of the idea of the church as a 'collective individual,' and a factor in salvation, mediating between Christ the redeemer and the redeemed individual, is carried still farther by *C. J. Scharling*, who conceives of the church as actually the primary object of redemption, and so as the primary recipient of the Spirit, which has been poured out since the dawn of the new aeon. This church is even supposed to have been identified by Paul with Christ; through this mystical unity the church died and rose again with Christ, and forms the new humanity, so that individuals share in redemption only as members of the church. In support of this general view Scharling refers to Jewish and hellenistic elements, especially the idea of mystic unity between Israel and the shekinah or the torah, and hellenistic mysticism with its dualistic assumptions and enthusiastic, religious aims, — the difference being that Paul has incorporated his mystical elements into a fundamentally eschatological way of thinking, and united them with the collective idea of the church. The ecclesiastical setting of Paul's doctrines is due to his having received his mystical experiences in connection with the act of worship. These ideas deserve attention but require verification. It can at least be affirmed as certain that Paul in referring to redemption does not habitually insert the collective idea between Christ and the individual.

The posthumous essay of *F. Philippi* is a sketch by an able young theologian who lost his life in the war. He reaches the conclusion that in the epistles Paul appears as the inexorable opponent of the Jewish religion but the friend of the Jewish people, while in the Acts we see him portrayed as hostile to the people but as revering the Jewish religion. Luke must therefore have distorted his portrait of the apostle. See *E. Vischer*, *ThR*, 1917, 369 ff.

Macholz's penetrating study of justification by faith deals especially with the views of Wrede, and the latter's assertion, in company with others, of the secondary character of this doctrine. Paul's religious temperament required a principle which should be exclusively theocentric. After his conversion he was done with Judaism, and his doctrine of justification was the fruit of his earliest Christian experience. It includes, in Macholz's view, the whole of his experience of salvation, comprising both the benefits of an expiatory satisfaction and the believer's elevation into the sphere of the risen Lord's life. Macholz is not Pauline but Lutheran when he declares that the justified are to be regarded as already righteous, even though they have yet to become so. To that reflection Paul did not attain; his view is rather that purification of character is effected not in justification but in regeneration.

G. Kurze discusses from a Catholic point of view Dibelius's *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus* (1909). He cannot admit "disparate" elements in Paul; and will not permit later Jewish sources to be treated as documents of an environment from which Paul drew. The value of the book resides in the abundant references to other literature and in the convenient collection of the various explanations and arguments.

The first volume of *A. Juncker's Ethik* (1904, now in many ways antiquated) described the principles of the new moral life which springs up in Christians. In neither that volume nor the present one has the author profited much from modern study of Paul. Juncker discusses certain modern views, such as the derivation of the catalogue of vices from hellenistic or Jewish models, the assertion that Paul's ethical system has a world-renouncing character, etc. He denies that in 1 Cor. 7 the institution of *virgines subintroductae* is referred to, and gives substantial arguments for his view. In general, Jewish and hellenistic material is but sparingly introduced for comparison, and the book has little breadth of grasp. See M. Dibelius, *ThLZ*, 1921, No. 13-14.

B

The question of spiritual marriages in 1 Cor. 7, 36 ff. (or 25 ff.) has been taken up by Steck and Jülicher. *Steck* holds

that the passage refers to these marriages, but (like J. Weiss) takes the whole section, from vs. 25 on, to refer to the same topic (*παρθέναι* meaning couples of spiritually betrothed persons). From this exegesis he draws the inference that this section (like the rest of 1 Corinthians) belongs to the second century.

Jülicher denies that the betrothal idea extends to vss. 25 ff.; the reference to *συνησασκτοι* seems to him possible, but not proved. He is more inclined to think of a betrothed couple who, under the impression of Paul's preaching, had given up their determination to marry.

The idea, now accepted by Deissner, that a group at Corinth was strongly impregnated with hellenistic notions, would receive a startling illustration if a hypothesis put forward by *Reitzenstein* should ultimately stand. He first presented in his book *Historia monachorum et Historia Lausiaca*, then, in the articles named above, developed at greater length and defended against Harnack, the theory that the way in which Paul emphasizes in 1 Cor. 13, 13 the statement that faith, hope, and love abide, implies a controversy. Certain Corinthians had maintained against Paul a four-fold formula, 'knowledge, faith, love, hope,' of hellenistic origin, as *Reitzenstein* thinks is proved by Porphyrius, *ad Marcellum* 24, Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* iii, 69, 3; vii, 57, 4. Paul, he holds, adopted the formula, but, true to his conviction of the superiority of love over gnosis, omitted 'knowledge.'

Harnack protests vigorously against this view, and from numerous Pauline and other early Christian passages undertakes to prove the Christian origin of the triad. He believes that it grew naturally out of current formulas, each having two members, 'faith and love,' 'faith and hope.'

Corssen also doubts *Reitzenstein's* construction. He thinks that the four ideas were so deeply rooted in the philosophy of Porphyrius, that the supposition of his dependence for them on religious literature (so *Reitzenstein*) or, as *Harnack* suggests, on Paul himself, is superfluous. The Clement passages are to be explained from 1 Cor. 13, 13 and from Clement's own system. The whole sentence in 1 Cor. 13, 13 is sufficiently accounted for by the preceding context.

In his 'Nachwort,' 1917,¹ *Reitzenstein* assembles fresh proofs, drawn especially from the *Oracula Chaldaica*. It must be admitted that a hellenistic triad or tetrad analogous to the Christian triad may have been in existence, and there is no reason why it may not have been known in Corinth. In that case the language of 1 Cor. 13 would be more intelligible, but the theory would not solve all the problems. See R. Schütz, *ThLZ*, 1917, No. 26; Dibelius, *WklPh*, 1916, 1041; Wohlenberg, *ThLBl*, 1916, No. 17; C. Clemen, *ZKG*, N. F. 1, 178 f.

Reitzenstein (*Historia monachorum*, pp. 242 ff.) thinks he can explain from Porphyrius, *ad Marcellum* 13, another Pauline passage, 2 Cor. 3, 18. *Corssen* (ZNW) traverses both the interpretation of the passage of Porphyrius and the inferences for 2 Cor. 3, 18. He urges that the word ἐνοπτρίσθαι is used by Porphyrius (who twice employs it) to mean either (middle voice) 'be reflected' or (active) 'reflect.' Accordingly the sense 'looking into the mirror of the δόξα,' which Reitzenstein gives to the Pauline phrase, is not attested by Porphyrius. Just as Porphyrius means that God is reflected in the human spirit, so Paul (in Corssen's view) says that the glory of the Lord is reflected on our face. Corssen includes an analysis of the whole chapter.

Lüttger has now extended to the Epistle to the Galatians his theory that a gnostic movement existed in the apostolic age and was of equal importance with Judaism. He supposes the polemic of the epistle to be pointed in two directions, — now both at once, now one at a time, — namely, against the Judaizers and against the self-styled 'spiritual' antinomians who blame Paul for inconsistency, reproach him with his submission to the Law, declare that he preaches circumcision (Gal. 5, 11; cf. 2, 18), and owes his gospel not to revelation but to an (unnamed) apostle, and who besides have introduced into Christianity the elements of the worship of Cybele. On this last account Paul affirms that these opponents had actually reverted to heathenism, since in 4, 8 ff. he means 'revert to the rudiments of instruction,' that is, to the Law, to which the heathen also are subject.

¹ Cf. also Reitzenstein's *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, 2 ed. pp. 235 ff.

Lüttgert's detailed exegesis is often highly artificial. And it is to be observed that in Galatians Paul nowhere indicates that he is arguing against two extreme parties of opposite tendencies. A heathenish libertinism he would have brought to check in a very different way. See Deissner, *ThGg* 14, 1920, 205-211.

W. W. Jäger has proposed a new interpretation of the difficult christological passage Phil. 2, 6. He takes the phrase *οὐχ ἀπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο* to be a commonly used idiom which regularly had the positive meaning, 'regard as a privilege,' 'enjoy,' 'turn to advantage.' This is chiefly on the ground of Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, iv, 6; vii, 20; Plutarch, *de fortuna Alex.*, p. 418, 22 (Bernard.). The literal translation (*ἀπαγμὸν* meaning 'usurpation') and all references to the myth of Satan or of Adam he vigorously opposes.

Jülicher, with a retort to Jäger's rather arrogant attitude, reviews the patristic exegesis of the passage, and himself favors the meaning, 'hold as too precious' or 'as indispensable,' 'refuse to yield what has been acquired with trouble and pains.'

Schmiedel will not admit 'enjoy,' but takes the phrase of the ambitious insistence on heavenly prerogatives. All the interpreters (including Dibelius, *ThLZ*, 1915, No. 25-26) treat the reference of *ἀπαγμὸν* to *res rapienda* (in contrast to *rapta*) as definitely excluded; Dibelius thinks that the notion must also be abandoned that Paul has in view any antithesis to the events in the spirit-world.¹

G. Kittel (1) thinks that Mishna Aboth iii, 11 ("who defiles the sanctuaries," etc.) was aimed at Paul. Interesting as the passage is, this seems to me not proved. The saying is later than Paul's time, and can equally well have been directed against gentile Christians in general or against gnostic Minim, whom Philo likewise attacks. (2) Kittel's hypothesis to explain the word *ἐξουσία* in 1 Cor. 11, 10 fails to convince. He assumes beside *רָבַע* 'rule' another *רָבַע* from a different root meaning 'wrap,' and that thus *ἐξουσία* came to mean 'veil' in Jewish Greek. By the 'angels' he understands not lascivious demons but guardians of chastity. (3) In a treatment of 'Round Numbers' Kittel argues (against Gunkel and others)

¹ Cf. also K. F. Proost, 'Adam-Christus-Satan' (*ThT*, 1916, 375-386).

that 'three and a half' has nothing to do with mythology or eschatological mysteries, but is merely a round number like 'five.' Even if that be granted, 'three and a half' may yet have become a definite term of an apocalyptic tradition. See *Musæum* (Leiden) 29, No. 5.

VI. CATHOLIC EPISTLES; HEBREWS; APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Bornemann, W., Der erste Petrusbrief — eine Taufrede des Silvanus? (ZNW 19, 143–164). — *Haering, Th.*, Gedankengang und Grundgedanken des Hebräerbriefs (ZNW 18, 145–164). — *Lodder, W.*, De godsdienstige en zedelijke denkbelden van 1 Clemens (Groningen dissertation). 244 pp. Leiden, van Nifterik, 1915.

The most important contribution to the study of the Catholic Epistles is the volume of *Meyer's Kommentar* on James by *M. Dibelius*, published in 1921 and already mentioned (p. 125).

Bornemann takes 1 Peter as originally a baptismal sermon (1, 3–5, 11) preached by Silvanus about the year 90 in some city of Asia Minor, and having for text Psalm 34, of which *Bornemann* finds traces all through the sermon. The dedication (1, 1–2) was added because guests from other churches asked for a copy. The name of Peter was added still later as a conjecture. A relation to baptism is evident in 1 Peter (see *Windisch, Taufe und Sünde*, pp. 227 ff.; *Perdelwitz, Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des 1. Petrusbriefs*, 1911), but to suppose that the whole epistle is a baptismal address is questionable, to say the least.

Th. Haering lays stress on the alternation of doctrinal statement and exhortation in Hebrews. With that characteristic in mind it becomes inappropriate (cf. among others my commentary on Hebrews in *Lietzmann's Handbuch*) to use the terms 'digression' and 'interruption'; and also in the parts other than hortatory a progress of thought can be perceived. *Haering* divides the epistle as follows: 1, 1–4, 16, introduction, which prepares for and leads up to the actual theme (4, 14–16); 5, 1–6, 20, preliminary discussion of the theme; 7, 1–10, 18, elaborated proof of the theme as the testimony of faith to the incomparable high-priesthood of the Son; 10, 19–13, 21, consequent exhortation to hold fast the confession. The analysis is made with great acuteness.

The commentaries on the Apostolic Fathers (Hermas by M. Dibelius has not yet appeared) in the supplementary volume to Lietzmann's *Handbuch* have already been mentioned. *Lodder* in his valuable book, although he forces the ideas of 1 Clement into the traditional frame of Christian dogmatics, yet gives a just account of the theology of the epistle, and does not fail to take account of its unsystematic character. He connects the ideas with their environment, and properly points out the contacts of 1 Clement with philosophy (cosmological conception of God as father, anthropology, eschatology), but neglects the preparation in Judaism for this hellenization of the religion of the Bible. He rightly admits an influence on the doctrine of 1 Clement from Pauline theology, or at least from Pauline formulas, side by side with a pervading moralistic piety, the source of which he finds obscure. Clement was a gentile and belonged to them "that are of Caesar's household" (Phil. 4, 22).

Reference should be made to the following contributions to the volume, *Harnack-Ehrung* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1921): E. Förster, 'Kirchenrecht vor dem 1. Clemensbrief'; M. Dibelius, 'Der Offenbarungsträger im "Hirten" des Hermas'; H. Windisch, 'Das Christentum des zweiten Clemensbriefes.' Finally see also G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, 'De jongste verdediging van de echtheid der Ignatiana' (NThT, 1915, 253-269).

VII. HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

A

Weiss, J., Das Urchristentum. Herausgegeben und ergänzt von *R. Knopf*. xii, 687 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1917. — *Bernouilli, C. A.*, Johannes der Täufer und die Urgemeinde (Die Kultur des Evangeliums I). 504 pp. Leipzig, Der neue Geist Verlag, 1918. — *De Zwaan, J.*, Imperialisme van den oudchristelijken geest. 390 pp. Haarlem, F. Bohn, 1919.

B

Kiefl, F. X., Die Theorien des modernen Sozialismus über den Ursprung des Christentums. xxxii, 222 pp. München, Kösel, 1915. — *Eger, O.*, Rechtsgeschichtliches zum Neuen Testament (program). 46 pp. Basel, Reinhardt, 1919. — *Eger, O.*, Rechtswörter und Rechtsbilder in den paulinischen Briefen (ZNW 18, 84-108). — *Boenders, F. C. M.*, Keltische invloeden op het Nieuwe Testament (ThT, 1919, 137-144). — *Windisch, H.*, Der Untergang Jerusalems (Anno 70) im Urteil der Christen und Juden (ThT, 1914, 519-550).

A

No hand was more competent to write a history of early Christianity than that of *Johannes Weiss*. Widely read in hellenistic literature, he was equipped to portray the environment of early Christianity as well as the new religion which arose therefrom; in many respects he departed from the views of the leaders of the '*religionsgeschichtliche Schule*.' But he was permitted to finish only his account of the work of Paul and of the further development of Christianity in Palestine and Syria. The first part of his book was published before the war; the remainder (pages 417-681), issued in 1917, consists partly of matter left ready for the press at the author's death in 1914, partly (from page 601 on) of supplementary chapters by *Rudolf Knopf*, who has himself since died.

Weiss was able to complete his account of Paul as Christian and as theologian; the section on 'hope' is succeeded by those on Pauline ethics, on Paul's conception of the world, and on the church. Of special note is the discussion of the Lord's Supper, in which he makes some corrections of the exegesis given in his commentary on 1 Corinthians. These chapters are followed by a survey of the post-pauline period in missionary work and the founding of churches, and by sketches of the history of Palestinian and Syrian Christianity. The Epistle of James is used as a document of the development of the Syrian church. Knopf has drawn in broad outline, and in the spirit of his *Geschichte des nachapostolischen Zeitalters*, the history of Asia Minor, of Macedonia and Achaia, and of Rome, so that the result is at least a self-contained history of the apostolic and post-apostolic age. See M. Dibelius, *ChrW*, 1916, No. 37; 1918, No. 29/30; G. A. v. d. Bergh v. Eysinga, *NThT*, 1918, pp. 170 ff.; K. Lake, *HThR*, 1922, pp. 97 ff.

In the first volume of his *Kultur des Evangeliums C. A. Bernouilli* the pupil, friend, and intellectual successor of Franz Overbeck, has written a most suggestive work on the rise of Christianity, and has presented the subject in a new light. He is close to the psycho-analytic school, and writes with a diffuse rhetoric which is often infelicitous, and the obscurity of which

is hardly dispelled by a second reading. The book, though it is almost devoid of any method in its argumentation, has the stimulating quality of great originality. The chief idea of the first volume is that John the Baptist gave the real start to Christianity. His eschatological baptism was not practised by Jesus, but was revived by Paul in pentecostal baptism, which took on a more cheerful tone from the spirit of Jesus, while among the disciples of the Baptist there was a recrudescence of religious fear. John taught repentance and self-purification; the new element in Christianity was the Spirit, who brings sanctification, and the enthusiasm which proceeds from the risen Christ. The chapter on the resurrection-faith, in which the author shows his training in psycho-analysis, calls for mention. Following Schweitzer, from whom he has learned much, the author emphasizes the purely Jewish origin of Christianity, and denies all derivation from syncretistic religion. See Dibelius, *ThLZ*, 1920, No. 21-22.

Under his curious title *de Zwaan* gives a thoughtful account, intended for the general reader, of the development of early Christianity down to the secure establishment of the Catholic Church. In his introduction on Faith and History, he discusses the radical contention that the whole gospel is a poetic rhapsody, and also the views of scholars like Troeltsch, Harnack, Bousset, and Kirn, and urges that faith rests not on, but in, history. The resurrection of Jesus is a fact the possibility of which historical investigation leaves open, and which faith requires in order to assert itself. Among other successive topics *de Zwaan* treats of certain of the ideas of Jesus from a point of view influenced by Tyrrell, and indicates two roots of Christian 'imperialism,' namely, the reaction against the juristic spirit of the Pharisees and that against wrong and injustice in the world. In describing the formation of an eschatology no longer revolutionary but purely spiritual, he remarks on the prevalent failure in current discussions to give due weight to non-christian, cosmic eschatology. Toward the close is a masterly sketch of Tertullian in a few strokes; the book ends with Athanasius.

B

Next to mythology, socialism is the leading factor in the modern radical criticism of the N. T. tradition. The Catholic theologian *F. X. Kiefl*, who exposed the philosophical foundations of the mythological theory in his book, *Der geschichtliche Christus und die moderne Philosophie* (1911), has now undertaken to show the historical derivation of the theories of modern socialism on the origin of Christianity, and to refute them. He finds that these views, too, have their roots in the Hegelian philosophy, which necessarily led to the socialistic theory of history; and he gives a survey of the history of the social conception of Christianity in protestant theology and in socialism — the real antichrist, as he terms it. His refutation rests on an historical and exegetical investigation of 1 Cor. 7, 21, of which he gives a conservative interpretation in accord with the church fathers. He explains that the emancipation of the slaves was not a part of the program of the church, and was prepared for by the church only in the religious and ethical emancipation effected by the gospel. In depicting the lot of the slaves in antiquity we must, he says, guard against exaggeration; only so is the attitude of Paul and the church justified. The oldest Christianity was not a proletarian, but a religious, movement. The early Christian idea of the state was conservative, as is shown by the attitude toward slavery. Kiefl gives a long series of illustrations and citations (not always exact) from the church fathers. The argument is sometimes superficial, but there is much information in the book.

Eger in his program elucidates from the papyri the trials at law described in the N. T., especially those of Paul, and shows that narrative and terminology fully correspond to the hellenistic legal documents. In connection with the trial of Paul he adduces an edict of Nero relating to the improvement of procedure in cases of *provocatio* to the emperor, and suggests that Paul was released because the Jewish complainants did not put in an appearance. He also takes up the legal words and legal figures in Paul (briefly in the program, more in detail and with learned material in ZNW). In Gal. 3, 17 ff.; 4, 1 f. he holds

that Paul had hellenistic (not Roman, nor Celtic) legal conditions in mind, and that he was alluding to the custom of attaching to a will a penal clause which protected the provisions of the document from the attack of a third party. In Gal. 4 Paul assumes the father to be dead, and to have appointed in his will guardians for a fixed term, as is often found in papyri. Eger rejects the idea of adoption by will, since that does not occur so late as the date of the hellenistic documents. After treating of the legal usage implied in 1 Cor. 3, 9 (the act of undertaking the charge of buildings), he closes with a discussion of the legal affairs implied in Philemon.

Boenders argues (against Eger) that the law implied in Gal. 4 is Celtic. Among the Celts it was customary for fathers in their own life-time (in Galatians it is not stated that the father is dead) to put their sons under tutors (in Gaul, Druids), by whom they were treated as slaves until on reaching their majority they returned as sons to their fathers' house.

In the case of so far-reaching an event in the earliest Christian period as the fall of Jerusalem, it is remarkable that no one has gathered and compared the various testimonies from Jewish and Christian literature as to its significance and cause. In *my* Leiden inaugural lecture (1914) I have made a beginning of this. The gospel passages comprise both genuine sayings and others that were produced by the church after the event; the central idea (as in later Christian feeling) was that it was a punishment for the crucifixion of Jesus. The Jews, too, saw in the catastrophe a punishment for national sin. Josephus has in mind chiefly the partisan strife of the rebellion and the profanation of the temple by the Jews themselves; the apocalyptic writers, although accounting for the event by the nation's sin, yet give comforting promises of a rebuilding; the rabbis find the guilt of the nation in inattention to rabbinical tradition and doctrine, but also lay weight on the retribution that has fallen on Titus and is destined to overwhelm the Roman empire. The pragmatic significance of the catastrophe for both religions is clearer from the Jewish than from the Christian testimonies. I have since collected more material and hope later to publish a monograph on the subject.

VIII. THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

A

Daubanton, F. E., Geschiedenis der beoefening van de didaktiek des Nieuwen Verbonds. 278 pp. Utrecht, Kemink en Zoon, 1916. — *Feine, P.*, Theologie des Neuen Testaments. 3. Aufl. xv, 585 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1919. — *Weinel, H.*, Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Die Religion Jesu und des Urchristentums. 3. Aufl. xv, 675 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1921.

B

Bultmann, R., Die Bedeutung der Eschatologie für die Religion des Neuen Testaments (ZThK, 1917, 76-87). — *Pott, A.*, Das Hoffen im Neuen Testament in seiner Beziehung zum Glauben (Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 7). 204 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915. — *Berkelbach van der Sprengel, S. F. H. J.*, Vrees en Religie. Een psychologisch onderzoek toegepast op nieuw-testamentische gegevens (dissertation). 145 pp. Utrecht, 1920.

C

Wernle, P., Jesus und Paulus. Antithesen zu Bousset's Kyrios Christos (ZThK, 1915, No. 1-2); also, separately, 92 pp. Tübingen, Mohr. — *Bousset, W.*, Jesus der Herr. Nachträge und Auseinandersetzungen zu Kyrios Christos. 96 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1916. — *Heitmüller, W.*, Jesus und Paulus. Freundschaftliche kritische Bemerkungen zu P. Wernles Artikel "Jesus und Paulus" (ZThK, 1915, 156-179). — *Göts, K.*, Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte des Christusglaubens (KRef Schw 30, 1915, No. 29-33).

D

Haering, Th., Das Alte Testament im Neuen (ZNW, 1916, 213-227). — *Harnack, A. von*, Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche (TU 42, 97-143). Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918.

A

The book of *F. E. Daubanton* († 1920, church professor at Utrecht) is a history of the study of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, conceived in the traditional fashion. Its special value lies in the attention paid to Dutch, English, and American work, and in the accounts of the contents of the more important books, while the grouping and historical criticism are often defective, and unfortunately but little notice is taken of anything but substantial treatises. See Windisch, ThT 51, 1917, 233 ff.

Of German textbooks of New Testament Theology that of *P. Feine* is at present the most widely read. In the new edition

Feine holds more aloof than ever from the point of view of the history of religions, and insists on the freedom of Paul and John from the influences of later Judaism and Hellenism. "Today we have passed the crest of the wave of 'history of religions,'" is a sentence from his preface which constitutes a kind of program. His total aversion to the idea of foreign influences is connected with the establishment of the divine character of the person of Jesus. A sign of increased conservatism is his use in the present edition (unlike the earlier ones) of the Gospel of John as a source for the teaching of Jesus, — to confirm, explain, and complete the Synoptic tradition. With similar tendency, in the section on the teaching of Jesus, the chapter on Jesus' idea of his own mission now precedes those on the kingdom of God and the moral requirements, while a new chapter is added on Jesus' work in the power of the Spirit and on his promise of the Spirit. The new edition shows some other changes in arrangement, and many abbreviations and expansions, corresponding to the progress of recent investigations but all exhibiting the author's strong conservative bent.

The new edition of *Weinel's* admirable text-book has undergone important modifications of the text, but none in the point of view. It is a general presentation of early Christianity as conceived by students of the history of religions, although in the critical exposition he gives more prominence to religious values than is usual. In a new chapter on the influence of mystery-religion the thesis of Reitzenstein and Bousset is accepted, in opposition to Schweitzer.

B

Bultmann, following out the ideas of J. Weiss and myself (ZwTh, 1912) has tried to define more exactly the significance of eschatology for New Testament religion by showing the part which faith in eschatology takes in the moral and religious utterances. The eschatological motive spurs to moral effort; in certain fields of ethics the term 'interim ethics' holds good; and eschatology furnishes a background for the idea of the transcendence of God and of his superiority to the world, and for the optimism of faith in God, as well as for the dualism of

the Christian view of things. It seems as if a more essential significance were here assigned to eschatology than Bultmann himself is disposed to acknowledge.

Schlatter's discussion of Faith in the N. T. and Lütgert's of Love are now followed by a treatment of Hope, by *A. Pott*, carried out, as is right, with special reference to the relation of hope to faith. Pott first considers hope in the later Jewish literature, including Philo but not the Talmud. In the apocalyptic writings hope is chiefly eschatological trust, while faith includes confession and obedience as essential elements, much as in the Psalms; Philo's idea of faith has gained more of religious depth. In the consciousness of Jesus an unexampled elevation and a new element are found, for in him faith is completely imbued with hope, he has God, and the future and present are intermingled. It is due to the Synoptic writers that faith and hope have again drawn apart, and that both have acquired an eschatological reference. Paul is acquainted with this eschatologically oriented hope, but in the mystical union with Christ, and by virtue of the Spirit of Christ, faith and hope become once more identified, although in the form of eschatological hope. In the epistles from the time of persecution eschatological hope becomes the central idea; in later writings that place is again taken by faith, but in the form of confession. This is the case in John, with whom, however, faith is a knowledge which unites mysticism and gnosis. It is doubtful if all this is so, but the investigation is not without value for the understanding of Christian piety. See the incisive criticism of Bultmann, *ThR*, 1916, 113 ff.

With a background of discussion of general psychology and the psychology of religion *Berkelbach van der Sprengel* presents his discussion of Fear and Religion as a kind of illustration of his psychological analysis. Treating of fear as a religious phenomenon and a religious motive, the author deals chiefly with primitive peoples, but includes the piety of the Old Testament. In his suggestive but incomplete sketch (pp. 50-75) he points out that the higher the grade of the piety, — that is, the more intimate the communion, — the more is fear overcome by such feelings as trust and love. His thought

is often similar to the views (with which he was not acquainted) of R. Otto in his book, *Das Heilige*, although he does not emphasize the 'sense of being a creature' as strongly as Otto. The New Testament part (pp. 76-145) discusses anxious care (*Bezorgdheid*), fear of men, of death, of demons, fear in the presence of Jesus, the sinner's fear in the presence of God, and fear in the prospect of the Last Things, — various types of fear which are overcome through the revelation of God in Jesus. The work is uneven, but it is all instructive, and the book is one of the best monographs of recent years.

C

In the inquiry into the origin of N. T. christology, Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* still holds the centre of the stage. Of the criticisms on it the most impassioned and detailed is that of Bousset's friend *P. Wernle*, who limits himself to the most important theme, namely, Jesus and Paul. He discusses Bousset's theses on the faith in Christ of the primitive church, on Jesus and the messianic hope, and on Paul's faith in the Lord (*Kyriosglaube*). His view is that before Paul the church invoked Jesus as Son of God and as *Kyrios* (Ps. 110; *marana tha*), and maintained vital communion with him as risen from the dead. He assembles the data which testify to a messianic consciousness on the part of Jesus (execution as king of the Jews, entry into Jerusalem, the request of the sons of Zebedee, idea of the kingdom of God as already present); and argues that the faith in the resurrection cannot be accounted for by myths. Paul's christology and doctrine of salvation Wernle would explain (in opposition to Bousset) by primitive Christian tradition, Paul's own experience, rabbinical interpretation of the O. T., and other rabbinical traditions, with no hellenistic influence. He denies that the primitive hellenistic church was an intermediate step between the original Apostles and Paul (Heitmüller), and rejects Bousset's thesis that the most important innovation in christology introduced by Paul had its starting-point in the cultus; personal mysticism is primary, cult-mysticism secondary. Paul's anthropology is due not to Philo and the Hermetic literature but to the Old Testament and the doctrine of the rabbis.

In his interesting rejoinder *Bousset* withdraws some untenable theses and furnishes a better argumentative foundation for his views than hitherto. While he makes some concessions with reference to the faith in Christ of the Palestinian church, he still insists that they did not use the title *Kyrios* or practise worship of the Lord. *Marana tha* he now explains as a Jewish formula used in oaths and affirmations. In spite of exorcism in the name of Jesus, and of the Lord's Supper, he holds it questionable whether the primitive church had any strong sense of the nearness of the Lord; and reaffirms his belief that the *Kyrios*-cult arose on Greek soil. Wernle, he declares, understands Pauline Christianity according to the scheme of the protestant reformers, an understanding inconsistent with the changed attitude of Paul to the sin of Christians. Bousset also adopts Heitmüller's thesis that Paul's conversion did not involve the collapse of nomistic moralism; justification and moral catastrophe were secondary to faith in Christ and the mystic union. Paul's dualism and pessimism can not be wholly explained as proceeding from rabbinical Jewish sources but were of hellenistic origin.

Before Bousset's rejoinder appeared, *Heitmüller*, falling under the same criticisms, issued his counterblast, virtually an explanation and justification of the views criticised by Wernle in *ZNW*, 1912, 320 ff., especially the thesis that the ideas of hellenistic Christians constituted the real basis for Paul's theological construction. He would not exclude the notion of original experience as controlling Paul, but urges that his forms of expression were drawn from the tradition and environment of the gentile Christians with whom he associated almost exclusively in the period from Damascus to Antioch. Like Bousset he denies the existence of the *Kyrios*-cult in Jerusalem; only in hellenism did the conditions precedent exist. Heitmüller shows great caution in his inquiries.

The *present reviewer*, in 'Christuskult und Paulinismus,' *ThT*, 1916, 216-225, is in large part, but not completely, in accord with Bousset. The worship of Jesus as the heavenly 'Lord' must be ascribed to the primitive church, although a 'Christ-cult' could only be elaborated on gentile Christian soil.

Bousset has overestimated the hellenistic factor in Pauline theology and underestimated the Jewish element. The connection between Jesus, the primitive church, and Paul is to be sought chiefly in their eschatology. Bousset's proposed distinction (see p. 203 above) between primary and secondary elements cannot be carried out, since the doctrine of justification, — that is, Paul's controversy with Judaism, — is not secondary. Jewish and hellenistic, Palestinian and hellenistic, are everywhere intermingled.

K. Götz's criticism of Bousset is similar to that of Wernle, insisting even more strongly on the Jewish element in Paul. The title of 'Lord' is inseparable, he holds, from the conception of (royal) messiah. The Greek preference for Kyrios is to be explained by the strangeness of the title 'Christ' and from the Christian hostility to oriental and hellenistic worship of rulers. Götz ascribes Paul's anthropological pessimism and his dualistic doctrine of salvation rather to hellenistic gnostic traditions; while the doctrine of vicarious suffering and the collective idea of the second Adam are Jewish, and a Jewish analogy to the worship of a divine mediator may be found in the legend of Moses, cf. Ecclus. 45, 2; 1 Cor. 10, 1 ff.

See also P. Althaus, 'Unser Herr Jesus,' NkZ, 1915, 439-457, 513-545; and on the whole controversy E. Vischer, ThR, 1916, 294-318. Bousset left a revision of his *Kyrios Christos*, embodying the results of the whole discussion, which was edited by G. Krüger, 1921 (394 pp.)¹

D

The chief objection to be taken to the inquiries of Bousset, Reitzenstein, and the other students of the history of religions, is that they have neglected the antecedents of the New Testament in the Old Testament and Judaism. In a discussion of principles and method, with some illustrations, *Th. Haering* points out the importance of recognizing that the New Testament is conditioned by the Old. We need to ask what Old Testament ideas and materials, what books and persons, have

¹ The book 'Jesus der Herr' is still useful even after the appearance of the second edition of 'Kyrios Christos.'

influenced the New Testament, and how any Old Testament word is understood in the New. The study of the New Testament must not neglect the Old Testament passages which underlie the New Testament passage under discussion; for instance, for the Lord's Prayer 1 Chron. 29, 10 ff. must be adduced; for Matt. 28, 18, Dan. 7, 14; for Rom. 12, 9, Ps. 97, 10; for 1 Cor. 10, 21, Mal. 1, 7, 12. Similarly with the chief New Testament terms and Old Testament usage. Haering's warning, in itself not unneeded, overlooks the fact that the New Testament interpretation of an Old Testament passage often depends on ideas which lie far from the Old Testament, and that ideas found in the Old Testament have commonly suffered a change of meaning when used in the New. Christianity presents a new product, and later Judaism and Hellenism both have their share in it.

Harnack's lexicographical study on the terminology of regeneration and kindred experiences in the early church follows a similar tendency. From the use in the Apostolic Fathers, and other early literature, of New Testament expressions, such as *παιδιά*, *νήπιοι*, *ἀνακαινίεσθαι* and its synonyms, *ἐκλογή*, *υιοθεσία*, *ἐλευθερία*, *φίλοι* and *ἀδελφοί*, *καινή κτίσις* and its synonyms, *καὶνὸς ἄνθρωπος* and its synonyms, he concludes that these are almost completely explained from the Christian religion and the hellenistic Jewish use of language. Down to the end of the second century the religion of the church was no 'mystery,' but a religion of the spirit, with ideas and images, to be sure, which were also customary in mystery-religions, and the use of which led to the later transformation of the Christian church into a mystery-fellowship. Harnack urges caution on the students of the environment of early Christianity, but does not offer a refutation of their results; his discussion of regeneration is unsatisfactory, for on that point a combination of the LXX and Christian experience is not an adequate explanation. See Deissner, *ThGg*, 1919, 175 ff.

IX. ELUCIDATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

A

Van den Bergh van Eysinga, G. A., Voorchristelijk Christendom. De voorbereiding van het Evangelie in de Hellenistische wereld. 188 pp. Zeist, Ploegsma, 1918. — *De Zwaan, J.*, Antieke Cultuur om en achter het Nieuwe Testament. 1. ed. 141 pp.; 2. ed. 149 pp. Haarlem, F. Bohn, 1916, 1918. — *Lohmeyer, E.*, Christuskult und Kaiserkult. 58 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. — *Plooij, D.*, Kynisme en Christendom (ThSt, 1915, 1-32). — *Bugge, Chr. A.*, Das Christumysterium. Studien zur Revision der Geschichte des Urchristentums. 127 pp. Christiania, Dybwad, 1915.

B

Reitzenstein, R., Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen. 2. Aufl. viii, 268 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1920. — *Reitzenstein, R.*, Das mandaeische Buch des Herrn der Grösse und die Evangelienüberlieferung (SAH, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1919). 98 pp. — *Wetter, G. P.*, Phös. 189 pp. Upsala, Akademiska bokhandeln; Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1915. — *Lohmeyer, E.*, Vom göttlichen Wolgeruch (SAH, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1919). 52 pp.

C

Heinrici, G., Die Hermesmystik und das Neue Testament (Arbeiten zur Religionsgeschichte des Urchristentums 1). xx, 242 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918. — *Windisch, H.*, Urchristentum und Hermesmystik (ThT, 1918, 186-240). — *Dibelius, M.*, Die Isisweihe bei Apuleius und verwandte Initiations-Riten (SAH, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1917). 54 pp. — *Dibelius, M.*, Die Christianisierung einer hellenistischen Formel (NJkA 35, 1915, 224-236). — *Leisegang, H.*, Der heilige Geist. Das Wesen und Werden der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis in der Philosophie und Religion der Griechen. I. Band, 1. Teil: Die vorchristlichen Anschauungen und Lehren vom Pneuma und der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis. 267 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1919.

D

Clemen, C., Die Reste der primitiven Religion im ältesten Christentum. 172 pp. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1916.

A

The book of *van den Bergh van Eysinga* gives a comprehensive account of the philosophical and religious tendencies in the hellenistic environment of Christianity, together with an attempt to show the essential derivation of Christianity from this environment. The title, 'Prechristian Christianity,' has thus the force of a program, much as in the case of W. B. Smith's

Der vorchristliche Jesus. Nevertheless the book has value apart from its questionable conclusions. The significance of the Cynics and the Stoa, together with the Stoic popular philosophy and the other doctrines prevalent in the earlier imperial period, the coming of astrology from the East and its great influence, the mystery-religions and hellenistic mysticism, and the Jewish Alexandrian philosophy, are described, and the book closes with an 'Application,' in which the author seeks to establish the thesis that the gospel is a metaphysical poem, the fruit of a combination of oriental and western thought. What is depicted in the gospels is not a noble teacher but a metaphysical being, in the elaboration of which Orient and Hellenism wrought in common. Of some interest is the reference to Seneca's tragedy, *Hercules Oetaeus*, as a counterpart to the gospel of the suffering and glorified Son of God (see also *Tijdschrift v. Wijsbegeerte*, 1921, 161-178). The author's defect is that he has overlooked the profound differences between Christianity and Hellenism and the complete contrast in their general character. He does not do justice to the eschatological, messianic character of the gospels, while the hellenistic analogies which he adduces are trivial and beside the mark. The historical figure of the human Jesus of Nazareth, imbued with the piety of the Old Testament and animated by prophetic and messianic spirit, gave the indispensable first impulse which led to the creation of a Christian church.

A gospel propagated by purely literary means, itself a fictitious invention, could never have gained credence in Palestine. This observation of mine (ThT, 1918, 318) *van den Bergh van Eysinga* tries to repel (NThT, 1919, 274 ff.) from Enoch 71, where Enoch, a mythical person, is exalted to be Son of Man, that is, messiah. But he fails to notice (1) that the author of the Book of Enoch certainly looked on Enoch as a real person, unlike the creators of the Christ-myth; (2) that Enoch 71 makes the impression of a hasty combination, not elaborated, and devoid of effect; (3) that while it is true that Enoch is subsequently exalted to be Son of Man, there is no idea whatever of his having appeared on earth as Son of Man nor any expectation of his return as Son of Man. The parallel, important in

itself, must be regarded as wholly without value for the problem of the historicity of Jesus.

For other discussions of the controversy over the Christ-myth see ThR, 1916, 353 ff.; 1917, 315 ff. The most recent work of the radical school is A. Drews, *Das Markusevangelium als Zeugnis der Geschichte Jesu*, with twelve astronomical charts (326 pp., Jena, Diederichs, 1921), in which it is attempted to derive the whole of Mark either from O. T. types and prophecies or from the changing positions of the constellations. K. F. Proost, *De beteekenis van Jesus Christus voor ons geloofsleven* (67 pp., Zeist, Ploegsma, 1919), relegates the historical human figure of Jesus wholly to the background, and in its place seeks to develop the figure of 'Christ' as symbol of our piety. For refutation of the Christ-myth see J. Leipoldt, *Hat Jesus gelebt?* (47 pp., Leipzig, Dörffling und Franke, 1920). A popular summary of the specifically Dutch radical views is to be found in the late H. W. Ph. E. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Het Christusmysterie* (247 pp., Zeist, Ploegsma, 1917); see ThR, 1917, 315 ff. Of lasting value is P. Zondervan, *Radicale Christusbeschouwingen* (245 pp., Leeuwarden, Meyer en Schaafsma, 1915), a critical account of the views of Strauss, B. Bauer, Loman, Kalthoff, J. M. Robertson, Jensen, W. B. Smith, Bolland (†1922), A. Drews, and A. Niemojewski.

After a different fashion *J. de Zwaan*, the complete opposite of van den Bergh van Eysinga, portrays the environment of the New Testament. He paints a vivid and well proportioned picture, but fails a little to see that early Christianity tended to look only on the dark sides of the heathen state. He compares with Christianity the rational religion which (in spite of the intrusion of astrology and demonology) prevailed in Hellenism of the Roman period, and describes Ptolemy and Bardesanes as men who exhibit strongly the impress of ancient Gnosis, together with Ignatius as an opponent of Gnosis. Although he unduly disparages the relative value of these 'preparatory' men and forces, and exaggerates their difference from Christianity, these popular lectures deserve attention. See ThT, 1917, 240 ff.; van den Bergh van Eysinga, NThT, 1917, 388 ff.

Building chiefly on Reitzenstein's work, *Bugge* conceives early Christianity as a mystery-religion and the church as a company of mystery-devotees. The most debatable aspect of his view is his contention that the roots of all this were planted in older Jewish mystery-circles (Essenes, Therapeutae). He identifies mystery-circles and prophetic circles, and so comes to attribute the character of mysteries to the Israelitish prophetic religion. From the epistles and gospels he collects the most important 'mystery-testimonies.' The dependence on Judaism is seen in Paul's putting Christ into the place of the torah, and transferring to him its attributes (rule, pre-existence, sonship to God); Jesus himself had given the impulse to this in the words (Matt. 11) in which he designates himself the son of God, as the realization (*Verwirklichung*) of the torah. In Matt. 11 the mystery-preaching of Jesus begins; with the aid of Matthew, Bugge traces its development, and goes on to assemble and annotate the most important mystical passages of Paul and John. The collections are not worthless, but the book utterly lacks critical method. With no understanding of the problems, Jesus, Paul, and John are presented without any idea of the differences between them or of the nature of the evolutionary process at work.

E. Lohmeyer has given a popular account, with full and learned notes, of the history of the worship of the emperors and of the resistance of the Christians, with a discussion of the possible influence of the struggle on the worship of Christ. The latter is parallel to, not derived from, the worship of the emperors; the influence and the resistance grew slowly, cf. Phil. 3, 20 and the greater effect perceptible in the Pastorals, the writings of Luke, and the Apocalypse. See Windisch, *ThLZ*, 1920, No. 3-4.

Plooij draws an interesting comparison between Christianity and the doctrine of the Cynics, not so much in order to prove Cynic influence on Christianity as to show that Cynic doctrine with its ascetic and atheistic tendency had prepared the ground for Christianity. He brings into relief the contrasts, especially the conscious attitude of the Cynics toward the gods. See also A. Sizoo, *De beteekenis der Cynisch-Stoische propaganda voor de verbreiding van het evangelie*, Amsterdam, Kirchner, 1921.

B

The most important monograph on the hellenistic mysteries and their influence on Christianity still remains *Reitzenstein's* book. In the new edition the author has introduced the new knowledge gained by his studies of Manichaean, Mandaean, and Iranian texts. He now holds that the fundamental conceptions of hellenistic Gnosis come from the Mazdaean religion. He has had access not only to the religious writings hitherto known but also to the texts discovered at Turfan, including a hymn of Zarathustra. The chief point is the myth of the god 'Man' (*Mensch*), who descended into matter and having been raised again returned to his home; what befalls the god, who is at the same time the world-soul, is also the lot of the 'believer.' From the Iranian (instead of the Egyptian) Reitzenstein now derives the New Testament $\delta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ (pp. 211 f.). He also (pp. 237 ff.) discusses the problem of 1 Cor. 13, 13 (see above, pp. 190 f.) and now derives the formula of Porphyrius from the Iranian. See Harnack, *ThLZ*, 1921, No. 3-4; O. Gruppe, *BphW*, 1921, 362-369.

The text of the Mandaean book 'The Lord of Greatness,' on which *Reitzenstein* has written an essay, is to be found (in two forms) translated in Brandt's *Mandäische Schriften*, pp. 3 ff. Reitzenstein analyzes the third and fourth parts of this book, containing the instruction of Adam and Eve and an apocalypse which must have been composed soon after the year 70. This apocalypse is directed against the Jews, and tells how the Jews build Jerusalem, and how Enoch appears in human form in Palestine and baptizes, but presently, in revenge for the slaying of his disciples, obtains from God permission for the destruction of Jerusalem. Jesus is here attacked as a Jewish false prophet. Reitzenstein draws attention to the parallel between this text and Matt. 23, 11, Mk. 13 and parallels. As Wisdom speaks in Matt. 23, so does Enoch in the Mandaean apocalypse. The connection of the New Testament tradition with the anthropos-myth thus receives fresh confirmation; the Mandaean community shows itself as akin to, and a rival of, Judaism. The gospel texts are referred to

Mandaean origin, — a conclusion which is not altogether convincing; Acts. 6, 13 is also explained as going back to Mandaean tradition, as well as the similar saying about the temple, Mk. 14, 58.

In particular Reitzenstein now attributes the tradition of the Son of Man to Iranian sources, with the surprising result that Jesus himself had the consciousness that he was Enoch. In this he is in opposition to Bousset, who ascribed the origin of all the Son of Man passages to the church. In opposition to Brandt, Reitzenstein holds that the introduction of John the Baptist into the Mandaean doctrine took place much earlier; Johannine disciples who were unwilling to pass over into the Christian church joined the Mandaean Enoch-worshippers, affirming that John was the true foreteller of Enoch. A brief survey of these and similar far-reaching hypotheses is given by Reitzenstein in his article, 'Iranischer Erlösungsglaube' (ZNW, 1921, 1-29), and further discussion in his latest book, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (272 pp., Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1921).

In the attempt to refer hellenistic ideas to a Persian origin Reitzenstein had a predecessor in *G. P. Wetter*, whose book entitled 'Phōs' is at once an inquiry into hellenistic piety, and a contribution to the understanding of Manichaeism. Here, too, the wide use of a common symbol is illustrated from the whole of oriental hellenistic literature, so that New Testament and early Christian formulas and usages find in it their explanation. Wetter pays attention both to the actual use of light in magic and ritual worship and to the symbolical and spiritual use of the word 'light' derived therefrom. Thus 'illumination,' 'light,' is equivalent to 'gnosis,' 'salvation'; to 'become light' is to 'become God,' etc. Wetter seeks the ultimate origin of the religious symbolism of light in Old Babylonian astrology; Mazdaism, Mandaism, Manichaeism are various religious movements in which the idea of light was propagated. In the period of syncretism and astrology it made its way into Hellenism, to which the idea was congenial that the redemption and knowledge conferred through the mysteries are to be understood as illumination and as impregnation with

light-substance. Harnack, ThLZ, 1915, 523 f., justly complains that the Old Testament light-motives have been overlooked by Wetter; of more value are the reviews by M. Dibelius, DLZ, 1915, 1469-1483, and Nilsson, GGA, 1916.

Like the divine light, the divine fragrance is a perception by the senses which betrays the nearness of the deity and symbolizes the communication of divine power. *E. Lohmeyer* has made a very extended collection of testimonies on this subject from classical mythology, the Egyptian and Persian religions, and the Israelitish and Jewish literature, with evidence of the effect of those ideas on the oldest Christian literature. The whole study might be called a gigantic note to 2 Cor. 2, 14 f. Fragrance is the sign of the gods, and likewise distinguishes the pious in paradise; it played a part in worship, especially in Egypt; and it has soteriological significance, the aspect which is most prominent in the Christian use of the idea. See Gressmann, ThLZ, 1921, No. 19-20; Gruppe, DLZ, 1921, 42.

On hellenistic religion see also *Weinreich, O.*, Neue Urkunden zur Sarpis-Religion. 39 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. — *Smits, J. C. P.*, De Keizerrogi. 38 pp. Leiden, Brill, 1915. — *De Jong, K. H. E.*, Das antike Mysterienwesen in religionsgeschichtlicher, ethnologischer, und psychologischer Beleuchtung. 2. Aufl. 448 pp. Leiden, Brill, 1919; sharply criticised by *Reitzenstein*, BphW, 1919, No. 40.

C

The Hermetic writings still present unsolved problems, but the posthumous book of *G. Heinrici* († 1915) does not contribute to their solution. His purpose, indeed, was not to throw new light on the origin of the Hermetic literature, but to determine their relation to the New Testament by analyzing the contents of the individual documents and working out the variety and the contrasts of their fundamental ideas. The tables of contents which Heinrici gives are very useful, although, as *Reitzenstein* has shown, not a few misunderstandings and mistakes have crept in. The second part of the study, on 'Hermes-mysticism and Early Christianity,' was unfortunately left a torso. Heinrici had a fine sense for the differences between hellenistic mysticism and New Testament religion. He admits contact of the New Testament books (Paul,

Hebrews, John, etc.) with the Hermetic writings, but insists everywhere on the 'peculiarity' (*Eigenart*) and originality of Christianity. In the case of specially striking resemblances he often assumes influence from the Christian side on the Hermetic writings (especially in Tracts I and XIII). Heinrici's polemic, not always to the point, is chiefly aimed at Reitzenstein and Bousset.

The slashing criticism by *Reitzenstein* (GGA, 1918, 241-274) has the value of an independent treatment of the subject. He points out that the Egyptian origin of the Hermetic writings is now proved by Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1381. He clears up various misunderstandings and errors of translation. In opposition to Heinrici, who supposes a relatively late origin of the Corpus, he brings fresh arguments to show that the literature must have been in existence in the first century after Christ. The idea of Christian influence he decidedly rejects; and to prove influence on early Christianity from Hermetic mysticism he argues that differences in mode of apprehension and nuance prove nothing, and further that the borrowing of figurative ideas or technical words is perfectly consistent with a sense of religious originality on the part of Christians. See also M. Dibelius, DLZ, 1919, Nos. 11-12, 13-14, with many noteworthy observations; Deissner, ThGg, 1918; v. d. Bergh v. Eysinga, NThT, 1919, 389 ff.; G. Hönnicke, LZBl, 1920, No. 6; Posselt, BphW, 1919, No. 49.

The *present reviewer's* article is an inquiry into the possibility of Christian influence on the Hermetic writings. (J. M. Creed, 'The Hermetic Writings,' JThSt, 1914, 513-538, became known to me only later.) After showing that the Hermetica certainly show contact with the Old Testament (Genesis, Psalms, wisdom-literature), I have urged that, while Heinrici's proofs are not strong, there are single expressions connected with conversion and regeneration in which Christian terminology might have played a part, especially in Tract IV. In any case these parallels call for further research. On the other hand the number of New Testament ideas which betray hellenistic influence can be increased. I have noted parallels to Mk. 9, 19 (and parallels), 1 Peter 2, 25, Jas. 3, 5, Mk. 10, 18,

Matt. 13, 1 ff., 24 ff., Mk. 1, 32, further to Hermas and Barnabas (see my commentary on Barnabas in Lietzmann's Handbuch). See also Deissner, ThGg, 1919, 179 ff.; C. Clemen, ZKG, N. F. 1, 173 f.

M. Dibelius has investigated the passage of Apuleius, *Metam.* xi, 23, which treats of initiation into the mysteries of Isis, and tries to prove that the well known sentence, *accessi confinium mortis*, etc. is a ritual formula; he makes it clear, in opposition to De Jong, that no occult practices or experience of visions lie behind it, but sacramental dramatic action. Accordingly he proposes a new explanation for the teaching opposed in Colossians and for Col. 2, 18. By *ἐµβαρεβειν* in that passage he thinks is meant the entrance into the sanctuary, which the initiate has previously seen in his ecstasy; in any case we must admit that he has proved the word to be a technical expression of the mysteries. The teachers opposed in Colossians are, according to Dibelius, mystery-priests, who had been initiating Christians with the result that these Christians transformed their Christianity to correspond to the mysteries. See C. Clemen, ZKG, N. F. 1, 179 f.

The hellenistic formula which *Dibelius* in the second article proves to have passed into Christian use — a parallel to Reitzenstein's explanation of 1 Cor. 13, 13 — is the introductory phrase of Eph. 4, 5 f. From Marcus Aurelius vii, 9 he tries to show that the hellenistic tradition employed such introductory formulas; possibly Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii, 193, where the cosmic formula has already received an ecclesiastical significance, may represent a preliminary stage toward the passage in Ephesians.

The book of *H. Leisegang* promises to be a thorough and illuminating treatment of the rise of Hellenism as a mixture of Greek and Oriental civilization and thought, as well as a discussion of the meaning of this syncretistic product for germinant Christianity. The author takes the idea of the Holy Spirit in order to portray this process, and institutes two inquiries: first, Is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit of Greek or of oriental origin? and secondly, What has been the process of the interweaving of Greek philosophy and oriental mysticism, and what part has been played therein by the idea of a super-rational

divine Spirit, superior to the human spirit? Leisegang very felicitously takes as his point of departure Philo, who gives the clearest indication of the problem on both its sides; and the whole of the first volume is devoted to Philo's doctrine of the Spirit and the proof of its complete derivation from the ideas of Greek philosophy. He succeeds in disentangling the many contradictions in Philo's doctrine and in carrying back the various conceptions to their roots in Stoic materialism, Platonic dualism, and Greek popular religion. Judaism is wholly omitted, — a defect, in my opinion, and one associated with the author's complete omission of the Israelitish and Jewish doctrine from his account of the development of the idea of the Spirit (see P. Volz, *Der Geist Gottes . . . im Alten Testament*, 1910). The distinction is important which he draws between the notion that the Spirit belongs to man by nature and the idea that it comes by a sudden super-mundane irruption of power. The discussion of the specifically Hellenic idea of prophetic inspiration is particularly good, although here, too, the Israelitish analogies are overlooked (see G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten*, Leipzig, 1913). In this connection he analyzes 'ecstasy' in Philo and in the religion and philosophy of the Greeks.

D

C. Clemen's book leads us into quite different fields of religious phenomena. In it this well-read author has made an appropriate supplement to his book on the interpretation of the New Testament from the point of view of the history of religions. He is able to point out an amazing number of survivals in the New Testament of a primitive stage of religion. Fetish-worship, faith in elements, the worship of the heavens and the heavenly bodies, of animals, men, and spirits; further, religious relation to higher powers, the maintenance and conquest of these powers, influence exerted on them by magic, defence against them, etc.; — all these have left their traces in the New Testament. In his arrangement Clemen follows the systematization employed in the study of primitive religions. To complete the work a survey would be desirable of the various kinds of influence which these primitive ideas and usages have

exerted, for it makes a difference whether a primitive element has been preserved in more or less concrete form or only in a word whose original meaning had long been lost or transcended. Also Clemen does not distinguish between ideas which have been retained in the New Testament, either among the rank and file of believers or by the leaders themselves, and views which the New Testament combats; thus the opposition of Jesus to the rabbis may be regarded as a case of opposition to primitive usages surviving in Judaism. Another defect in an otherwise excellent book is the failure to take account of New Testament sacramentalism and the primitive notions that lurk there. An appendix treats of primitive myths and sagas in the New Testament. See ThT, 1917, 248 ff.; H. Haas, ZMR, 1916, 317 ff.; Beth, DLZ, 1919, No. 22-24; Deissner, ThGg, 1917, 224 ff.; van den Bergh van Eysinga, NThT, 1917, 323 ff.

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THE CALL TO THE MINISTRY ¹

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THE most important question which a man has to decide in this world is that of his work in life. The majority of men must settle this problem in the light of conscience and common sense, their knowledge of their world, what can be done and what needs to be done in the world, and their knowledge of themselves, their natural inclinations and abilities.

The broad initial option lies between business and the professions. The opportunities in the business world are perfectly apparent. There is above all else the zest of the great game, so dear to the strenuous temper of America. The prospects for a successful, absorbing, and useful life-work in business or industry are so clear that such a career needs no advocates. It should merely be noted, however, that although the single individual may enter business with a social conscience and with altruistic motives and plans, he finds himself in a world that is primarily operated with a view to private gain.

The claim of the four major professions — the law, medicine, teaching, and the ministry — rests upon an entirely different premise. The professional man enjoys certain social recognitions and privileges in modern society which are not accorded the business man. And although, man for man, the broker or banker is often a more high-minded person than the doctor or teacher, it still remains true that the professions as a whole have a certain moral rating of their own, which is in advance of the moral rating of the ranks of trade and industry.

The reason for this felt and recognized distinction is clear and valid. The members of every great profession are organ-

¹ The Dudgeon Lecture, given at the Harvard Union, May 1, 1922.

ized primarily around the principle of service. Let me quote from a Balliol don at Oxford, on this basic distinction between the status of the business man and that of the professional man:

A profession may be defined most simply as a trade which is organized, incompletely, no doubt, but genuinely, for the performance of function. It is a body of men who carry on their work in accordance with rules designed to enforce certain standards both for the better protection of its members and for the better service of the public. All professions have some rules which protect the interests of the community. The rules themselves may sometimes appear to the layman arbitrary and ill-conceived. But their object is clear. It is to impose on the profession itself the obligation of maintaining the quality of service, and to prevent its common purpose being frustrated through the undue influence of the motive of pecuniary gain upon the necessities or cupidity of the individual. The difference between industry, as it exists today, and a profession is, then, simple and unmistakable. The former is organized for the protection of rights, mainly rights to pecuniary gain. The latter is organized, imperfectly indeed, but none the less genuinely, for the performance of duties.¹

Every profession seeks to safeguard its own standard by two sets of requirements. The first demands the fulfilment of an initial training and discipline. The second requires subsequent conformity to the ethics of the profession. In the practice of our modern professions candidly commercial, competitive, and gainful practices which would pass unnoticed and unrebuked in industry, trade, or politics, are prohibited and disciplined. Professional men, for example, are tacitly prohibited from advertising. They are not expected to prescribe courses of conduct or treatment for their clients in which they themselves have a prospective money interest. Such actions are reckoned as "unprofessional conduct," and lay their author open to discipline by the profession as a whole, or in the extreme instance to dismissal from the profession altogether.

Nothing gives us greater cause for hope as to our world, at a time when optimism is neither cheap nor easy, than the steadily rising standards of initial professional requirement and subsequent professional practice. We live at a time in the world's history when most of the currencies of idealism have been debased, either by paper inflation without reference to hard facts, or by disillusionment and cynicism. It means very much

¹ R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*.

to any man to find at hand a way of life where moral ideals are not only still recognized, but where they are more than holding their own. It takes more of a man and a better man today to practise a modern profession than it ever took before. This means that the professions as a whole hold out a welcome and an increasing opportunity to the man who chooses a life-work guided primarily by the unselfish desire to be of service to his world.

We are concerned in this lecture with a single one of the major professions, that of the Christian ministry. It is the least understood and the least often claimed of the "Big Four." The choice of any one of the other three professions no longer implies indifference to religion or neglect of religion. And the choice of the ministry no longer assures a monopoly of religious purpose and privilege. Teaching, medicine, and law rest today upon certain fundamental moral premises and open certain concrete religious opportunities, which make of them all ministries in a very real degree. They have pre-empted many duties that once fell to the ministry alone. And it is impossible to say just where the work of the modern doctor, teacher, and lawyer ends and that of the minister begins. I came away one night from a hospital room with a surgeon who had been making a losing fight for the life of a patient, and who turned away knowing that he had lost. I asked him what he thought was in store for that girl who would cross the border before morning. He said, "I do not know. That is your business. Our professions do not overlap. You enter the room when I go out, and we meet at the door in passing, that is all." Most doctors would feel that while this was a severely scientific interpretation of the practice of surgery, it was not fully human, and that it was not true to the best traditions of the profession. But it represents, perhaps, the broad initial distinction between the realm in which the minister practises and the realms occupied by members of the other professions. They deal with the world of known facts, primarily. The minister deals with the marginal world of the unknown. They practise in the world of seen things already staked out and possessed by knowledge. He ventures by those intuitions which we call

faith, into realms of which we have no certain knowledge, and yet which concern us quite as truly as the colonies of the human mind conquered and administered by scientific certainty.

It is this initial difficulty of defining accurately the distinctive duties of the minister which makes the call to the ministry to young men of today a vague and casual call. The first question about the ministry to be stated and answered is, therefore, a very concrete one, "What has a minister to do in the modern world?" The duties of a Christian minister are twofold. They always have been twofold and they always will be. They consist of his public ministry and his private pastoral work in a parish. Both of these duties must be generously interpreted. The first includes the conduct of worship, the administration of sacraments, where they are observed, and preaching. It also extends out into the community at large, where the minister is expected to appear and to stand on countless public occasions as the recognized spokesman for one of the major concerns of human life, namely, religion. And after all, as Huxley used to say, there are only two things permanently worth bothering about in this life, religion and politics. In the pastoral relationship the minister's parish begins by making him the guide, philosopher, and friend of a certain limited number of human beings, and ends by making him a kind of social engineer concerned with the general human problem of his city or town.

It is widely felt, today, that these duties are more or less superfluous, and that the ministry is in danger of degenerating into a parasitic order, fattening off the community, but putting nothing back into the community. This feeling is very strong with the outspoken economic radicals. And it is vaguely felt by all those to whom the material goods are the most real values, and who wonder what religion is all about. Of what good is the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper? That is a hard question to answer. It can best be answered by asking another question, Of what good is any symbol and symbolic act? Of what good is guard-mount, and a flag, and a sunset gun? As to the work of preaching the minister no longer enjoys a monopoly of culture and learning as he did in earlier days. He does

not speak with the authority that once he did, either as the voice of a finally and completely revealed religion or as the principal possessor in his community of human learning.

His predicament has been honestly and accurately stated by a modern essayist:

No mariner ever enters upon a more uncharted sea than does the average human being born into the twentieth century. Our ancestors thought they knew their way from birth through all eternity: we are puzzled about the day after tomorrow. Ministers are as bewildered as the rest of us, perhaps a little more so. For they are expected to stand up every week and interpret human life in a way that will vitalize human conduct. To ask the clergy to find adequate meaning in this era is to expect each minister to be an inspired thinker.

The major problems of the modern ministry rest on the fact that the minister is primarily concerned with those aspects of human life which are at once the most important and yet the most difficult to define and to appraise. Just as a man's property at any moment is divided into tangible assets which can be realized at a moment's notice, and the intangibles which he cannot get his hand on for the time being, so a man's experiences divide themselves into the tangibles and the intangibles. Most of our work-a-day life is concerned with the tangibles. Religion is primarily concerned with the intangible. And the initial difficulty which religion has to face in modern America is the plain fact that the average man is impatient of the unseen and the intangible and inclined for the sake of efficiency to commit himself in his life's interest and work to the world of tangible facts and values.

The appeal of medicine, for example, as against the ministry, at the present moment is the appeal of a life of service in the tangibles as against a life of service with the intangible. A surgeon cuts out a malignant growth from the body cavity. If he is a normally trained man he knows what he is doing at every turn of the operation, and when he has finished he knows exactly what has been done. And the patient either recovers or dies. The surgeon can check himself up day by day, because his problems, though often obscure and always delicate, are also tangible. But the minister preaches a sermon or

talks with some one in trouble, and he never knows just what he achieves. For the world in which he works is not one that can be measured with a watch or a micrometer or a yardstick or scales. He is speaking to men's points of view, their tempers of life, their hopes and fears. But this does not mean that he is not dealing with a real world, only that its realities are too subtle to be appraised with the more obvious aspects of experience.

And this does not mean that the intangibles are not important; on the whole the more important aspect of life. A grim bit of literary realism came out of the war, a few years gone, in which there was a painfully vivid account of a hand-to-hand bayonet encounter. One of the combatants finally succeeded in driving his bayonet through the body of the other. "All of a sudden," runs the record, "the adversary's face turned absolutely smooth, as if the cold iron in his body had chilled his fury, his eyes opened wide in astonishment, and he looked at me as if to ask in reproach, 'What are you doing?'"

Some such expression as just that, of almost childish perplexity, is to be seen on the face of our time. It is no answer to say crudely, "I am driving a bayonet through you." That is an obvious and gratuitous insult. The answer to that question in all of its aspects lies in the realm of ideas and moral values. Nor are the answers of a narrowly materialistic social service to such questions any more satisfactory than the answers of candidly brutal materialism on a battle field. For, as a fine-tempered modern Englishman has said of much of the humane work of the time, "When everybody is properly housed and clothed and fed, the problem still remains what to do with life, a problem to which they have no answer to whom philanthropy is all of life."

Now the whole significance of religion in history and in human experience lies in the fact that it attempts to answer just that type of question. "What are you doing with life — your own life and that of the other man?" Religion has very little meaning or worth to the man who does not feel the urgency of problems like that. Apart from such an interest it may be a pleasant incidental decoration for living, one of the luxury-

trades that is sanctioned with good-humored tolerance. But it is not a matter of vital concern to the man who really does not care what he is doing with his own life, or what he is doing to the other man. But to those who do care about these matters, because somehow they have to care in spite of themselves when it would be easier and perhaps pleasanter not to care, religion becomes more and more imperative and inevitable because it is pledged not to stop short of final answers.

Now the ministry is a profession which is concerned with discovering and stating adequate working answers to these final questions of life. It has no monopoly of these interests as against the rights of other men to care and think about these things. But it is a life-work devoted to the study of these matters at first hand, as they arise in a man's own life and in that human laboratory which is his parish. It really has no other reason for existence. And everything it says and does, not only with its lips but in its life, ought to be a suggested answer to problems of that nature.

What constitutes a "call to the ministry"? It is no mystical voice or emotional urge merely. It is above all else, at the present moment, the inner necessity which a man finds laid hard upon him to get, first of all, some answer to these problems in his own life. And this call is not primarily a call from a church, or from a creed. It is the imperious moral command of circumstance. It is the voice of God speaking to his own reasonable conscience. It is the necessity he feels to find out why he is here, what it all means, and what he ought to do. Beyond that it is the call of troubled and perplexed human beings round about, asking for help in living, at the point where help is hardest to find, and yet when found means the most, the kind of help that comes from our deepest companionships in human experience. And any man who feels this necessity and hears these human voices has a sufficient call to the ministry.

If we were to recast the conception of the ministry in the familiar terms of present-day life, we might say that the modern minister is a research worker set aside by preoccupied men to study the realm of human motives and human values, and to venture fresh answers to the question, "What are we doing

with life?" Ultimately, he is the man who is trying to win the power and to give others the power to say "God" in all the experiences of life. History, in the fortunes of its great systems of thought, conduct, and organized social life, reveals a good many ways of saying "God." The minister must know the world's ways of saying "God" in broad outline, and must be prepared to reinterpret them in the light of present conditions. But the dead hand can never guide the living present. And no minister seeks simply to lay the dead hand on the perplexed living. He takes his start, not from the authority of the past, but from the perplexity and need of his own life and his own time. He cannot escape the thought with which Lord Bryce concluded his long study of democracy: "The civilized peoples seem to be passing into an unpredicted phase of thought and life." And he realizes that the letter of old creeds will not be able to make that transition. Old answers to the riddle of life can never entirely satisfy new conditions. And the minister today is the research worker set aside to deal with the fundamental questions of human values and human duties in the terms in which they state themselves in this new time.

Many a man who feels the pressure of these questions, and who recognizes the call to the ministry which they bring to him, will wonder whether he is qualified to enter the ministry. College men are confused about what they believe today, and painfully conscious of the fact that their creed is a brief and imperfect one as measured by the standards of conventional and orthodox theology. They hesitate to put themselves in a false position by entering a profession which seems to commit them to more than they can believe or accept. What constitutes theological qualification for entering the ministry under such conditions?

It seems to me perfectly clear that two broad convictions warrant a man in entering the ministry. The first conviction is this, that religion holds a better promise of satisfactory answers to the riddle of life than any other human interest. And the second more or less follows from it, that Christianity is the best and most adequate religion the world has thus far known. This is not sectarianism, nor orthodoxy. It is the

testimony of the common conscience. William James used to say that Christianity was the completest of the religions man has known. Josiah Royce called it man's most important glimpse of the homeland of the human soul. George Bernard Shaw adds, in characteristic vein, that although we crucified Christ on a stick two thousand years ago we have never been able to get away from the conviction that he got hold of the right end of that stick, and that if we were better men we might try his way. If a man is convinced of those two matters it seems to me he has entire and sufficient warrant for entering the Christian ministry in some church of his choice and preference. I cannot suppose that any man would think of entering the ministry with less of a creed than that. I do not believe that any church can well ask of a man at the beginning of his life more of a creed than that. Religion is the best answer to the final problems of life. And Christianity is the best religion that we know anything about as yet.

Now a good half of a minister's life is spent in preaching and getting ready to preach. And it is as a preacher that the minister is most characteristically known in the community. What is preaching today? It certainly is not re-echoing at second hand the thoughts of other men. And it is not thundering out old precepts and platitudes on the strength of a remote past.

Preaching at the present time is primarily a process of thinking aloud about life. It takes its start with the life of our own time, men's perplexities and needs. We have been told recently that the war discovered a vast fund of "inarticulate religion" in the rank and file of human life. Inarticulate religion is religion which has never really become conscious of itself, found itself, and got itself stated out in the open. The case for preaching at the present time rests on the inarticulate religion of the average man. A surgeon friend once said to me of his minister, "What really interests and helps me in that man is his ability to put into words what I have always wanted to say and have always felt ought to be said, and yet have never been able to say by myself. And that is a very great gift." That, after all, is what all art and every classic does for us. It says what we want to say and know ought to be said, and yet

cannot say ourselves. That is why pictures and music and plays have a power over us. They help us to find ourselves. And this is the first thing the modern preacher has to do, to help dumb and perplexed men say out what is in them. It is told of William James that the student came out of his classroom feeling not, What a great man James is, but, How great I might be, if I only knew myself and found myself. That was a fine tribute to a great teacher. Now good preaching gets just that reaction. In this fallen world the preacher cannot always be the clear voice of God twice every week. But he can always be the voice of the people, trying to find and express themselves.

In the next place the preacher is trying to change men's point of view. And there is confessedly no hope for the future of civilization today, unless men's points of view are changed. There is no contribution which a man can possibly make to this generation so important and so absolutely essential as to help, even in the slightest way, to change men's way of thinking about the values of human life and the organization of human society. If our world is to be saved from suicidal disintegration it must discover afresh its communities of interest. And of all possible bonds of human union the thought of God is the surest and the strongest. Nothing so much needs to be said to the modern world as this, "One is your Father and all ye are brethren."

Teaching mathematics, healing diseases, discovering the causes and cure of cancer, getting a more stable banking system, raising the level of court procedure, limiting armaments, and refining the rules of war are all important. But of themselves they fall short of the final thing which has to be done, if civilization is not to go down in ruins, and that is to change men's points of view. The trouble with our age is that in its purely mechanical and technical skill it has far outrun its social sciences and its moralities. An Oxford teacher said with utter truth that the catastrophe of the war was made possible by, and was due entirely to, our preoccupation with scientific and materialistic concerns, to the neglect of the humanities and the moral realities. And nothing that a man can possibly

do with his life today is to be compared with the chance he has to help change men's basic ways of thinking about life.

There are many young men who admit all this, and who are really anxious above all else to help change the world's ways of thinking. They believe that the one true God is the Father of Jesus of the gospels and that such a God can save the world. But they know that serving him means changing many of our ways of thinking and living. And they feel that the thing cannot be said by a minister from a pulpit because the plainest fact about churches is to be found in a line of that hymn which says, "Nothing changes here." In short they are afraid of orthodox theology, and of respectable conservative capitalism in the pews which they despair of ever making truly Christian. They are anxious to spend their lives doing what they think the ministry ought to do, but fear that churches do not offer them a chance to speak and act freely in the effort to change the world's way of thinking.

I can only report my own sober conclusions as to this absolutely vital matter. That men resent and resist the necessity for changing their ways of thinking and living is perfectly plain. Churches share in this temper, they have no monopoly of it. But the picture of the minister as a man whose soul is not his own and whose lips are sealed, living as the only remaining moral slave and coward in a world of otherwise absolutely free men is a grotesque caricature of the facts. If a man decides not to run away into a desert and live there forever in an easy and empty freedom, but to live in this world and to try to keep his own independence in the face of the stolid inertia of human institutions, liberty is costly everywhere, in the ministry or out of it. It is no easier to be a free man in the law or medicine or the teaching profession, in a bank or in the editorial room of a newspaper or in politics, than it is in the ministry. All things considered it may be harder, because the world does not expect of the layman quite that integrity that it expects, rightly or wrongly, from the minister. Do not think for a moment that merely because you have decided not to enter the ministry you have insured your moral self-respect and independence for the rest of your life.

The fight has only begun and the case will be fought out on other grounds where defeat is just as possible and perhaps even more probable.

My own observation is that if a man does not abuse his opportunities in a pulpit, to rant wildly at things as they are or to indulge in sentimental utopian pipe-dreams, but thinks soberly and with a generous and hopeful mind about the changes in men's ways of thinking and living that Christianity asks, there is no place where he is so free to say what he really believes as in a pulpit. He will meet opposition and criticism, it is true, but he does not escape them by keeping out of a pulpit. And somehow deep in the common conscience, beneath all superficial resentment and worldly opposition, there is the conviction that just that is what the Church is for — to change men's ways of thinking and living. A disgruntled parishioner once complained that Newman's preaching interfered with the way he did business. And Newman answered, "Sir, it is the business of the church to interfere with people." In the profoundest sense of the word that is true, and the world knows and silently admits it. Religion does interfere with life, radically and deliberately. But if that interference is made in the spirit of wisdom and charity, rather than of truculent abuse, I am prepared to defend the proposition that a man can call his soul his own in the ministry today and speak what is on his mind quite as freely from a liberal pulpit as from any other single point of vantage. Only, all this rests on the man's patent sincerity and humility and charity. Without these qualifications he will never be a free man in the ministry. But that is simply another way of saying that he would be a moral coward everywhere else.

Something of that sort, then, is the preaching work of the modern minister; to think aloud about life, so that he shall help perplexed men find themselves and say out through him what is in them, to the end that they may finally change their points of view and get new values for old in experience and in the organization of society — in short to make men believe that God is there, that he cares what they do, that he has a stake in them, and that "He must win the day."

There remains for final mention the other side of the minister's duty, that commonly called "parish work." This work at its broadest is always a piece of social engineering. It has to do with all the human and humane relationships of a community. It is an effort to tie up and enlist the resources of the members of a church for the effective service of the whole community through all of the organized philanthropic agencies. Parish administration is social service in the large, and concedes nothing to any of the secular social agencies. Hardly a day passes but a minister has to attempt to relate himself and his parish resources to the total social task of the community. Parish work, today, always involves finding contacts and outlets for a few hundred persons who ought to be seeking and helping their less fortunate fellow townsmen or citizens. Every minister is pledged in advance, both personally and as the commander of the time and money of other persons, to the major philanthropies of his community. He is seriously trying to organize his parish so that it can get to work at closer range and with greater effectiveness in the world at large, and in absolute coöperation with all the existing agencies.

But more definitely than all this the aim of parish work is simply to enable a man to know intimately and at first hand the lives and needs of all sorts and conditions of other men. There is a certain amount of dull routine drudgery to be done in the way of parish visiting. At its worst it is a matter of tea cups and small talk. I do not know that it is any duller or more dreary than a good deal of routine drudgery in a shop or an office or on a doctor's rounds. John's measles and Mary's lessons are just as much a dull routine to the doctor or the teacher as they are to the minister. It is drudgery, put it any way you will, and a wise man ends by accepting drudgery as an inevitable part of any serious life.

But the end and aim of all this drudgery is to enable a man to know the lives of other human beings in detail, so that he is in a position to help them when they really need help. Samuel Barnett, the pioneer social settlement worker who founded Toynbee Hall, said that the best work that was being done in East London in his time was done, not by the workers who

had broad impersonal schemes for social reform, but by those who were willing to take time and trouble with individuals. That is true of every profession and every piece of human service. The thing always comes down in the end to concrete human cases, and the solution is found not in sweeping programs or large generalities, but in a man's willingness to take time and trouble with individuals. A man will not be a good minister who is not willing to do this. But neither will he be a good doctor, or a good teacher, or a good lawyer. I am more and more impressed by the fact that, as this world goes, the most successful professional men, the men who stand clearly at the top of their calling, are the men who are willing to take time and trouble with individuals. Your good specialist in medicine always does this. And if he is not willing to do it, because he thinks he is too busy to pay that price, he will just miss success in his life-work.

Now that is what parish-work comes down to in the end. It is simply the willingness to take time and trouble with individuals, some inside a parish and others outside, who need that kind of help which religion brings to people who are in trouble. Those needs are, on the whole, the deepest and most imperative in human life. They are the needs of hope and courage and friendship and the willingness to go bravely on. Every minister is in duty bound to try to meet those needs, man to man and face to face. And preaching never takes priority over that kind of intimate, patient, hand-to-hand service of the world.

I think of a man who stumbled up to me the other night at the close of service. He had been wandering about the streets in the dark, had seen the lighted windows of the church, and had turned in there in the hope that he might find help. He did not ask for food or lodging or money. He said that he was on the verge of committing suicide and was afraid he would be driven to it before the night was over. And he wanted to find someone to stop him and save him. Is that emergency a trivial or fanciful one? No call that could ever be put to any man anywhere could be clearer or more imperious and challenging than the call of that frightened human life in its ex-

tremity. The kind of help that a minister ought to give, and can give, to such a need yields nothing, either in its reality or in the delicacy of its technique, to anything that a surgeon, or a lawyer, or a business man has to do to help this world.

The time comes, and comes frequently, in the life of the parish minister when he must enter the room that the doctor or surgeon has left because the art of healing can do no more, or when he is confronted with the angry and tangled problems of human relationships which have defied the solutions of the law, or when he must serve as the recipient of those confidences of the moral life which troubled human beings have to share with a friend. The work of the minister in these intimate and profoundly serious experiences yields absolutely nothing in its human importance or its human opportunity to the work of any other man. Superficially, parish work seems to the world a matter of trivial small talk, but actually it becomes, as a man's sympathies and insights develop, a patient grappling with those deepest and hardest problems of living which only religion can hope to solve. And the usually despised parish work of the average minister, when followed out to its ultimate conclusions, calls for the type of man who concedes nothing, either by way of opportunity or qualification, to any of his fellows in the great professions.

Of the compensations of the ministry it is difficult to speak, in advance of experience itself. A man may enter the ministry today, hoping to earn a competence through all his working years. If he is a man of real ability he will have no difficulty in assuring for his home margins of comfort. And he is entitled to the advance assurance that however laggard individual parishes may be, and however reluctant to advance ministerial salaries to meet advancing standards and rising prices, the Protestant churches as a whole are facing this problem seriously and propose to set their ministers beyond hardship and anxiety, both during their working years and in their old age. The ministry does not commend itself to those whose only interest in life is the lure of a large income. But less and less is it shutting out those who feel deeply their moral responsibility to provide adequate support for a home with all its normal

charges, and who are rightly unwilling to make the members of that home the victims of their inability to command a salary adequate for these needs. In short the average man does make a living in the ministry, and the more than average man receives a compensation which puts him beyond anxiety and assures him of normal provision for the needs of a family.

But the more abiding compensations of the ministry are to be reckoned among life's "intangibles." The ministry brings to every man who follows it loyally the double compensation that accrues to a life lived with great ideas and profound truths on the one hand and with concrete human needs on the other hand. And a life lived in the service of God and of one's fellow men is its own best reward, in its own coin.

RECENT TENDENCIES IN ROMAN CATHOLIC THEOLOGY*

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I

CATHOLIC writers on Scholastic Theology do not hesitate to admit that no work contributing new and valuable additions to this science has been published since the days of Bellarmin, Suarez, and Lugo.¹ The collapse of scholastic philosophy after the fifteenth century could not fail to affect also scholastic theology, which in losing all contact with the new scientific progress lost also its strong appeal to speculative minds. Moreover, the Church, instructed by the events of the Reformation, had become so suspicious of novelties that any attempt to introduce new additions to the traditional teaching of theology was more likely to bring a thinker into the hands of the Inquisition than to lead towards a cardinal's hat.

But while it was possible for the theologians who taught in Catholic seminaries and convents to dwell undisturbed in their Christian Aristotelianism, this was impossible for those other theologians who, either by choice or by obedience, had to deal with apologetics, for apologetes must understand the spirit and speak the language of the times if their work is to have any value. Descartes greatly attracted the Catholic clergy in their search for a religious philosophy in harmony with the new times, but during the eighteenth century Locke and even Rousseau inspired many a manual of philosophy used as textbook in the ecclesiastical schools in preparation for the study of scholastic theology.²

Cartesianism however, even in the attractive form of Malebranche's intuitionism, was incapable of assimilation within the theological synthesis of the Tridentine scholastic tradition.³

* Full bibliographical notes will be found appended at the close of this article.

The cost of this break in the unity of philosophical and theological thought was paid by theology; incapable of either progress or regress, theology became almost a foreigner in the world of science and often a slave in the world of politics. As a matter of fact, in most European theological schools the text-books were imposed by royal decree in order to protect the state against dogmatic and canonical doctrines inspired by the principles of ultramontaniam and pontifical autocracy.⁴ No wonder, then, that under these conditions the state of confusion, uncertainty, and ignorance in theological circles, as it is described by Lamennais at the beginning of the nineteenth century,⁵ was the worst that the history of modern Christianity can show.

The same influences which provoked in that period a rebirth of independent speculation among the Protestants, represented on one side by Schleiermacher's "Discourses" (1799) and on the other by Kant's "Religion within the Bounds of Mere Reason" (1793), were at work also among Catholic theologians, and gave rise to the Traditionalism of the French and Italian schools, and to the Hermesianism of the school of Bonn. Traditionalism, as represented in its early period by De Bonald and Lamennais, and later by Ventura and Bonnetty, was a legitimate child of the romanticist spirit; but later, especially in the case of Boutain and Ubaghs, was permeated by the ontologism of Rosmini, where it assumed a more definite philosophical aspect. It did not take long for the Church to realize that a system of religious philosophy which, starting from the assumption of a primitive revelation, denied more or less explicitly the capacity of human reason to reach by itself the elementary knowledge of God's existence, was not only entirely subversive of Thomistic intellectualism, but also by identifying revelation with nature, destroyed implicitly one of the corner-stones of Christian dogmatics, that is to say, the distinction between natural and supernatural order.⁶ Traditionalism could not escape condemnation. Its last refuge was the University of Louvain, where Ubaghs and his colleagues endeavored to prove that the Bible and the Fathers could and ought to be understood in a traditionalistic sense.⁷

Georg Hermes of the Catholic faculty of Bonn, on the other hand, turned frankly toward Kant and Hegel, and not only attempted a reinterpretation of Christian thought in terms of Kantian philosophy, but altogether a new systematization of theology. His point of departure was even more radical than that of Descartes, — the absolute practical doubt. The *preambula fidei* were to him not only the door of entrance but the very essence of theology: faith, however, is based not on the value of speculative arguments, which are not cogent, but on the *obligatio credendi* induced by the practical reason. Hermes' "Christkatholische Dogmatik" was permeated throughout with Kantian rationalism, and fell under the weight of Roman censures.⁸

Nevertheless theological rationalism spread rapidly in the German Catholic schools, especially in the new synthesis made by Antonius Günther, priest of Vienna (1783–1863), who, looking away entirely from revelation, found in self-consciousness the basis not only of philosophy, but of the whole of Christian theology. Against the Hegelian assimilation of divine and human consciousness in the Absolute, which theologically led to undisguised pantheism, Günther maintained the dualism of traditional Christian theology, but denied the rational value of the old theology of exemplarism (of Platonic-Augustinian origin), as well as of the theology of analogy of the great scholastic doctors. The fundamental dogmas of the Church, like that of the trinity and the incarnation, are truths of which reason without the help of revelation may know the *raison d'être*. In this way both the divine and the human spirit concur as causes of the formation of dogmas, which, in so far as they depend upon the human spirit, are subject to progress and change. Günther's theological revolution attracted not only wide attention but large sympathy among Catholic thinkers, and even in Rome there was some hesitation before issuing the definite condemnation which was finally pronounced in January 1857, and which dispelled the hope that Kant had now found his Aquinas.

The Catholic school of Tübingen, although not entirely free from Kantian and Hegelian influences, followed another direc-

tion. Its foundations lay in the mystic idealism of Novalis, in the universalistic theories of Frederick Schlegel, and also in the Catholic theosophy of Franz Baaden. It aimed at a compromise between the old theology, with its external revelation to be learned by pedagogical method, and the new theories that the whole religion was to be found in human consciousness by reflexion. Religion cannot be learned by education alone; man must descend into his own heart to find God: but neither is religion a philosophy, "It is a positive reality, at once of psychological and historical order, which, however, must express itself in concepts and ideas. The true religious system is therefore an ideological whole which projects on thought the concrete religion in an enlarged and purified form." ⁹ On these lines the theologians of Tübingen, Drey, Kuhn, and especially Möhler, reached the highest point of modern speculation nearest in spirit to the orthodox Catholic tradition.

Hermes was radically hostile to all forms of scholasticism and of mediaeval theology; Günther, in the name of his dualism, criticized sharply the theology of the fathers and of the scholastic doctors, because both, following in the footsteps of ancient philosophy, had not understood the essential difference between the Absolute and his creation, and in spite of their orthodox consciousness they were really semi-panteists. The theologians of Tübingen, on the contrary, far from condemning the fathers and the scholastics, professed to be their continuators, and to represent substantially the same theology, only in a further stage of development. The great sin of the school of Tübingen was its undisguised hostility to ultramontaniam and to the doctrines of papal autocracy, which made it an object of suspicion to Rome; it escaped an explicit condemnation, but its positions were later demolished by the sweeping formulations of the Vatican Council.

The school of Tübingen had two great merits: first, that of having emphasized the necessity in theology of historical knowledge before approaching speculative problems, thus reviving the interest in historical studies among the Catholic theologians; and secondly, that of realizing and clearly stating that a restoration of Catholic theology which would set aside

entirely the scholastic tradition would fail of its purpose. But when about the middle of the century a small group of theologians began to advocate a simple return to an integral Thomistic philosophy, the school of Tübingen energetically protested. As a reaction against the intellectualistic exaggerations of Thomistic Aristotelianism, Tübingen emphasized more than before the value of intuitive faith, and against the revived axiom "*philosophia ancilla theologiae*" it insisted on complete philosophical independence.

In Rome for practical reasons the theologians were ordinarily more engaged in the critical analysis of others' systems than in constructive speculation, but for a while Rosmini's ontologism, which had gained much ground in Italy, France, and Belgium, seemed on the path to conquer the seat of conservative theology and to provide the new ground of conciliation for the various tendencies which strove to provide a thoroughly modern philosophical basis for theology. Unfortunately Rosminianism was ferociously attacked on one hand by Gioberti, who enjoyed at that time an enormous popularity and succeeded in discrediting Rosmini's system by pointing out its philosophical weaknesses, and on the other hand by the theologians of the scholastic revival, who showed its false theological implications. Their condemnation, however, was not uttered by Rome until many years after Rosminianism had lost its importance (March 17, 1888).¹⁰

The experience of these various theological adventures confirmed the belief in the radical opposition of modern philosophy to the dogmatic tradition of the Church, and suggested to the ecclesiastical government the need of a definite step to put an end to the philosophical vagabondage of theologians. The Syllabus of Pius IX (December 1864) proscribed in a wholesale condemnation all modern philosophical and political theories, and a few years later the Vatican Council fixed still narrower limits to theological speculation and gave the last touch of ecclesiasticism to the whole theological synthesis by extending dogmatic sanction to the principle of papal infallibility. The encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of Leo XIII (1878), which urged Catholics to restore in their schools the study of scholastic

philosophy and especially of Aquinas' system, was the natural conclusion of the tendency that inspired the dogmatic work of the council.

The ground for such a restoration was already prepared. From the middle of the nineteenth century a movement, timid at first but making steady progress in the ranks of the clergy, undertook the task of reaffirming the value of scholasticism *tanquam philosophia perennis*. It became more definite when the Society of Jesus, after some hesitation, finally threw into the balance the weight of its authority.¹¹ Loyola in his Constitutions had proclaimed Aquinas the guide of the Society in theology: in philosophy he had made it the law to follow Aristotelianism, "*In logica et philosophia naturali et morali et metaphysica doctrina Aristotelis sequenda est.*" Cartesianism, however, when it became fashionable, made a number of proselytes among the Jesuits, and in 1710 the general Tamburini, while proscribing a number of Cartesian propositions involving theological doctrines, at the same time stated: "*Systema Cartesii defendi potest tanquam hypothesis.*" Nevertheless, such a permission seems to have been interpreted in a very broad sense, for a free accommodation of Cartesianism with a flavor of Platonism became the common philosophy of the Jesuit teachers in schools and colleges. In the directions issued for the Society in 1832 all mention of scholastic philosophy is omitted, save for a recommendation that students should be taught the meaning of those scholastic terms which they were likely to meet in their future theological studies: "*Quamvis eae fugiendae sint voces quibus quae res subiiciuntur facile intelligi non possint, sermonem tamen scholasticorum eis non ignorare necesse est qui theologiae deinde vacabunt.*" It took, however, but a few years for the Society to revive the scholastic tradition among its members; as a matter of fact among the neo-thomists of the early period the two Jesuits, Liberatore in Italy, and Kleutgen in Germany, were certainly the two most prominent personalities. It is said to have been Kleutgen who made the first draft of Leo's encyclical *Aeterni Patris*.

In advocating the exhumation of scholastic philosophy the pope warned Catholics that scholasticism ought to be accommo-

dated to modern thought, and that all parts of the system dependent upon such mediaeval scientific doctrines as had already been definitely discarded by modern science ought to be put aside. The wisdom of such a rule and its necessity were obvious, but the difficulty was to carry it into practice. To draw a line of division between what was dead in scholasticism and what was to be considered alive, was a formidable task, and the general directions given in the pontifical document were too indefinite to be of much help. Moreover the determining reason for this return to scholasticism being a theological motive, it was obvious that the revival would be directed by theological interests and subordinated to them. The choice was to be governed by the logical and practical exigencies of the dogmatic formulations of Trent and of the Vatican Council, in order to supply apologetics with new weapons of defence and offence against all modern philosophical, political, and social doctrines condemned by the Syllabus and the Council. Within these limits and on such a narrow platform was to take place the new reconstruction of scholasticism in harmony both with the dogmatic teaching of the Church and with modern science.

Great hopes of a new golden age for theology were founded on this revival of scholasticism; it seemed that, once free from fideistic and rationalistic infiltrations in philosophy, Catholic thinkers guided by Aquinas ought to find again the lost art of high metaphysical speculation so as to complete and bring up to date the great theological systematization of the mediaeval doctors. It did not take long to discover that the first necessity was to find out what was the exact teaching of Aquinas on many questions of vital importance. During the late scholastic period, when the conflicts between Thomists and Scotists, between Dominicans and Franciscans, degenerated into philosophical flow of words and cheap theological gossip, and much more in the period of the Catholic counter-reformation, interpreters and commentators of Aquinas frequently read their own thought into his books and labelled as Thomistic doctrines for which Aquinas was not responsible. But a critical revision of the Thomistic tradition could not be accomplished without a general revision and a reconstruction of the history of scho-

lasticism, and one of the most useful results of this revival thus came to be a new impulse to historical research in mediaeval learning.¹² On the other hand, the work of adapting the scholastic system to the new scientific mentality of today required a conscientious analysis and a discriminative estimate of modern scientific theories and discoveries: above all it required the adoption of modern scientific methods of work and a close familiarity with all the instruments of research that modern ingenuity has put at the disposal of our men of science. Evidently many years of hard work were necessary before new scholasticism would be ready to absorb in a new synthesis modern science within Catholic dogma.

Two tendencies appeared very early among modern scholastics: one which advocated the return to what may be called an integral Thomism, with the exception of those few doctrines, either theological, like that of the immaculate conception, about which the Church had decided against Aquinas, or merely scientific, like the Ptolemaic cosmology, which all would agree ought to be discarded. The other tendency claimed a broader basis and the right to derive its doctrines from other scholastic sources besides Aquinas, with more substantial and radical concessions to modern science. It is not possible to draw a clear line of distinction, either topographical or chronological, between the followers of those two tendencies, but in a general way the former may be said to have been predominant in Rome, in the Gregorian University controlled by the Jesuits, among the Dominicans, and in a number of seminaries and theological schools of Italy, France, and Germany. Its adherents were men whose interests centered primarily in theology rather than in mere philosophy, and to them the axiom *philosophia ancilla theologiae* was the fundamental principle of their methodology.¹³

The second tendency found favor among those whose interests were primarily philosophical or historical, and has inspired the manifold activities of the department of philosophy of the University of Louvain, since the establishment there (1882) of a chair of scholastic philosophy whose first occupant was the secular priest Mercier, now archbishop of Malines and

cardinal. Historical interests were predominant in the neo-scholastic circles of Munich, where was founded the great collection, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*; while in Italy the same scientific tendency with a special interest in sociological doctrines prevailed among a small but able group of scholars who have recently organized in Milan a Catholic University with the primary purpose of making it a stronghold of neo-scholasticism.¹⁴ This neo-scholasticism of the second tendency, which has surrounded itself with all the paraphernalia of modern historical critical method and scientific laboratories, claims, at least in words, a complete independence for philosophy, and its program is "not to repeat but to think over again the Thomistic synthesis in the light of the problems of today and of the new facts which they presuppose."¹⁵ It is not within the scope of this article to give even a general outline of the history of neo-scholasticism and its doubtful accomplishments in the field of metaphysics and psychology or of its studies, which have been more noteworthy, in the history of mediaeval thought; our interest is in the question whether the scholastic revival has exercised an influence on modern Catholic theology, and if so of what kind.

II

The bibliography of speculative theology of the last forty years does not include a very large number of works by Catholic theologians, and apart from text-books and monographs of little importance and articles of transient interest, but few volumes claim attention. As a whole they compare unfavorably with the Catholic literature of the same period dealing with the history of theology or with Church history, and even with the works on special topics such as liturgics and Christian archaeology.¹⁶ Of the text-books those of A. Tanquerey¹⁷ and of J. Pohle,¹⁸ two European theologians who taught during many years in America, the former at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, the latter at the Catholic University of Washington, may be regarded as good specimens of the new type of manuals adopted in theological schools. Unlike their predecessors they

pay more attention to the historical side of the questions, to modern philosophical doctrines, and now and then even to those scientific theories and discoveries which directly affect the theological tradition.

It is interesting to notice that in many of these new manuals of Catholic theology the authors insist more than was usual with older theologians that the student is not to expect in dogmatic theology that rational certainty which is proper to physical science and even to metaphysics, theology being a science based on authority. Tanqueray is very emphatic on this point, and quotes the famous sentence of Pascal: "*Sapienter igitur Deus ita disposuit ut evidentia (i.e. in theology) sufficiens esset pro hominibus bonae voluntatis, non tamen ita cogens ut rebelles etiam compelleret voluntates.*"¹⁹

The main contribution, however, to speculative theology is represented by the treatises of the Jesuit professors of dogmatics in the Gregorian University of Rome, Dominicus Palmieri and his successors Camillus Mazzella and Louis Billot. Palmieri represents the period of transition, and his theology, and still more his philosophy, were not completely immune from the influences at work before the scholastic revival. As a matter of fact he was discharged because he was not sufficiently devoted to the Thomistic system, and was succeeded by Mazzella, a learned man but lacking originality and entirely out of touch with modern science and modern mentality. Aquinas' works he knew well, but relied too much on the interpreters who had adulterated Aquinas' teaching, and especially on the Jesuit theologians of the sixteenth century. His contempt for modern science was as absolute as his faith in scholasticism, and he did not hesitate, for instance, to state in the first edition of his *De Deo Creante* (Rome, 1820, p. 156) that fossils were not an evidence against the literal interpretation of the six days of creation of Genesis because they may have been created by God *in statu perfecto* as fossils.

Mazzella was made a cardinal, and his successor was the French Jesuit Louis Billot, now himself a cardinal and the most conspicuous theologian of the contemporary Roman Church. Cardinal Billot professes an unbounded devotion to

Aquinas, and there is no doctrine or solution of controverted problems that he does not strive to put under the protection of Aquinas' authority. It is his opinion that all theological questions find their solution either directly or indirectly by deduction in Aquinas' teaching. The exhumation of all sorts of Thomistic theories either discarded or misrepresented by the interpreters is the special accomplishment of Billot's theological labors. The impression one receives from his books ²⁰ is that the theologians of the last six centuries have misunderstood Aquinas in many more points than is commonly thought, and that to him was reserved the credit of rediscovering the genuine St. Thomas. But other theologians, and especially some prominent members of the Dominican order, which always remained faithful to the Thomistic system even when the Jesuits themselves had discarded it in favor of Descartes, subjected the works of Billot to a searching analysis and finally accused the eminent Thomist of having himself adulterated many a doctrine of Aquinas and of falsely attributing to the Angelic Doctor theories of his own on gratuitous predestination to glory, the causality and character of sacramental grace, and certain minor points.²¹

The common characteristic of this theological school is its systematic determination to ignore the objections against the traditional theories made in consequence of modern biblical and historical criticism. And yet the most formidable attacks against scholastic theology at the beginning of the twentieth century came not so much from philosophical schools as from other sources. The conclusions of biblical criticism destroyed the historical basis of the Tridentine doctrine of inspiration; while the new studies of positive theology demolished that large part of the scholastic structure which was based on a fragmentary or adulterated patristic historical tradition, on a defective knowledge of the historical environment by which the acts of the councils must be interpreted, and on a wrong estimation of the value of the pontifical legislation, so grossly disfigured by forgeries and interpolations of which the mediaeval theologians who made the scholastic synthesis were not aware. The attack was the more serious the more it became clear that

it was not suggested by sectarian hatred, but on the one hand grew out of purely scientific convictions based on facts and proceeding from men who in many cases had no personal religious interests to defend, and on the other hand came from the young generation of Catholic scholars who were eager to put modern science at the service of Christian apologetics.²² The history of Modernism is well known in its general lines, and it is not necessary to recall how it was crushed by severe disciplinary repression rather than by free discussion. But for the history of modern Catholic theology one circumstance is interesting to note. At the beginning of the twentieth century such representative works of scholastic theology as those which up to that time Cardinal Billot had published, concentrated their effort on the integral restoration of Aquinas' teaching, and polemized against the Protestant doctrines of the sixteenth century, against the rationalistic premises of the theologians of the early nineteenth century, and even against liberalism as defined by the Syllabus of Pius IX and the canons of the Vatican Council; but in these books almost nothing betrays an interest in the real problems of contemporary Catholic theology, which, since they concerned the essential points of the whole system, could not safely be overlooked by those theologians who in the Gregorian University spoke as "*magistri in Ecclesia Dei*."²³

The reason for this attitude of the Thomist theologians of the Gregorian University in that period is to be found not only in their deep distrust of so-called scientific conclusions, but also, and primarily, in the assumption that all objections against traditional theology raised in the name of biblical and historical criticism were in the last analysis based on and a direct product of the philosophical and theological errors of rationalism and fideism, both leading by different paths to agnosticism, — all errors which had been already condemned by the Church and were considered as buried and left behind by the neo-thomistic restoration.

As a matter of fact, when Pius X in his encyclical *Pascendi* (the first draft of which is said to have been the work of Billot) outlined for purposes of condemnation a systematic ex-

position of Modernism, he accomplished his task by a simple reduction of Modernism to philosophical agnosticism as its ultimate source: as such the pope had only to renew the old anathemas against the new disguise of old errors. That at the bottom of the modernist question there was, and could be found, a philosophical problem was true, and this lay in the nature of the case: but the Modernists were not entirely wrong in accusing the encyclical of having misrepresented their position by assuming a specific philosophy as the source and the starting point of their movement. They contended that Modernism was really due only to the practical problem created by the radical opposition of the results of biblical and historical criticism to the Tridentine conception of inspiration and to the dogmatic interpretation of scholastic theology. In regard to philosophy Modernism as such had taken position only in so far as it denied the validity of scholastic criteriology and, as a consequence, of scholastic apologetics, and affirmed the necessity of severing the cause of scholasticism, old and new as well, from the cause of Christian dogmatics and apologetics.²⁴

It must be said, however, that the contention of the encyclical had at least an apparent justification in the existence of a Catholic neo-kantism, represented by the French group of the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, and of an anti-scholastic theology represented by Hermann Schell and the school of Würzburg. Although the former appeared to be essentially a philosophical movement, and the latter a theological adventure very similar in character to those of the German theologians before the scholastic restoration, yet they had in common not only their radical opposition to scholasticism, but also their apologetic motive. Laberthonnière and Blondel,²⁵ the best representatives of the French group, presented their immanentism rather as a method than as a doctrine, and justified it by practical necessity. They sought to expound a Christian philosophy which would compel the attention of modern thinkers who have come to consider it an axiomatic principle "*que rien ne peut entrer en l'homme qui ne sorte de lui et ne corresponde en quelque façon à un besoin d'expansion, et que ni comme fait historique, ni comme enseignement traditionnel, ni*

*comme obligation surajoutée du dehors, il n'y a pour lui vérité qui compte et précepte admissible sans être, de quelque manière, autonome et autochtone."*²⁶

Starting from the fact that in our knowledge and in our activity as well, there is a constant lack of proportion between the object itself and the mind, between the action and the will — *ni ma pensée ne peut égaler mon action, ni mon action ne peut égaler ma pensée*²⁷ — Blondel concludes that the only way of explaining the existence in man of both the efficient cause and the final cause, whose coincident presence produces the lack of proportion between thought and practice, is to admit the permanent mediation of a perfect mind and a perfect activity: "*Tout ce qu'il y a de beauté et de vie dans les choses, tout ce qu'il y a de lumière et de puissance en l'homme, enveloppe, dans son imperfection et son infirmité même, une perfection souveraine.*" This perfection is God, and it is towards Him that we must turn our life, as towards the inevitable complement of our activity, in so far as this activity has for its necessary goal to define and to realize in itself such a perfection: "*Ce que nous connaissons de Dieu est ce surcroît de vie intérieure qui réclame son emploi; nous ne pouvons donc connaître Dieu sans vouloir le devenir en quelque façon.*" Blondel, however, did not deny the existence, nor the necessity, of an external historical revelation, but only restricted its value to the strictly dogmatic life of the Church.²⁸

Immanentism was accused of Baianism in so far as it implies a logical denial of the supernatural character of grace and, as a consequence, of the whole supernatural order. Moreover, by denying the rational validity of the historical argument for revelation it upset *de facto* the very foundations of the Catholic system.²⁹ In September 1899 Pope Leo XIII found it necessary to publish an encyclical condemning Kantism and warning Catholic priests and laymen of the dangers of drawing their inspiration from Kant in the fallacious hope of building up a new philosophy that may serve as a human basis for revealed faith. But no explicit condemnation was decreed until Pius X.

A more specific apologetic motive lay behind the new theological method inaugurated by Hermann Schell of the theo-

logical faculty of Würzburg. The systematic attacks against Catholic theology on the part of German philosophers, and especially of Eduard von Hartmann, who since the publication of his *Philosophie des Unbewussten* had acquired an enormous popularity, centered especially on two points, the complete and helpless slavery of Catholic thought and the absurdity and immorality of Catholic eschatology.³⁰ The eternity of hell with its disproportion between the guilt and the penalty is not only an atrocious insult to justice, but puts the Catholic God on the level of a savage deity. Still more violent was the indictment of Catholic theology in a book which made a great impression, *Der Kampf zweier Weltanschauungen; eine Kritik der alten und neuesten Philosophie mit Einschluss der christlichen Offenbarung* (Stuttgart, 1898), by Spicker, who pointed out very strikingly the illogical character of this dualistic eschatology, which by sanctioning the eternity of evil implicitly destroys the very conception of God.

Against these attacks Schell undertook to vindicate the freedom of Catholic theology and to explain the dogma of the eternity of hell. His work³¹ came to be itself a severe indictment of scholastic theology, accused by him of having misinterpreted the true Catholic doctrine. On the question of Christian eschatology Schell tried to find an escape from the pressure of Hartmann's argument in a complete separation between the metaphysical conception of God and the eschatological teaching of the Church. The former is a strictly philosophical deduction which does not imply as a logical corollary the dogma of the eternity of hell, just as the metaphysical conception of God does not imply the dogma of redemption. These dogmas belong exclusively to revelation, and the arguments from reason do not apply to them. But Schell went a step further and attempted a new interpretation of the dogma itself. By assuming that the sinners in hell retain their free will, Schell explained the eternity of the punishment as the result not of a divine decree but of the human will itself, which by clinging to its sin in the moment of death has rendered sterile that power of wishing good that still remains. The implications of such a theory were far-reaching, for they affected

the traditional conception of sin and in the last analysis the essence of other doctrines.

At this point Rome thought it time to strike, and a decree of February 23, 1899, put on the Index Schell's books on dogmatics and apologetics.³² *La Philosophie de l'Action* of Blondel and the new apologetics of Schell came to be more or less directly connected with the Modernist movement, and seemed to justify the assumptions of the encyclical of Pius X. At the same time the Church recognized that something needed to be done in positive and historical studies also.

Catholic scholars in the various fields of biblical studies, apologetics, positive theology, and ecclesiastical history had been busily at work to show that the results of critical and historical studies were either groundless, or, where they had to be accepted, could be so interpreted as not to affect in any way the Church and dogma. But these scholars, especially in matters of the Scriptures were still far from demonstrating scientifically the falsity of the conclusions of biblical and historical criticism, and even far from accord with one another as to the value of the critical method itself. Just as, when the decay of scholasticism deprived theology of its logical support, and so plunged it into that state of confusion and uncertainty from which it was rescued by the scholastic restoration, so likewise criticism, in demolishing the traditional ground on which Catholic exegesis and positive theology stood firm, created a panic among the theologians and gave rise to conflicts among Catholic scholars which required an immediate new methodical work of reconstruction. Therefore Leo XIII established a Biblical Commission to sit as judge of the conflicts, and clothed its *responsa* with normative power, although they did not possess, and are not supposed to do so, either scientific or dogmatic infallibility. Pius X added the Biblical Institute, which is intended to carry on the necessary work of readjustment in biblical theology under the vigilant eye of the supreme authority of the Church.

While the neo-thomistic school was thus busy in the integral restoration of Aquinas' teaching, and was engaged against Modernism in the theological field, the neo-scholastic school of

Louvain had taken another direction. Let us say at once that the hope that by clothing the essentials of scholasticism in modern robes the school of Louvain would become also a centre of fresh theological speculation has not as yet been realized, and it is doubtful whether it ever will be. Probably the peculiar circumstances in which the school found itself in the very beginning in part account for this. The new resurrection of scholasticism was greeted with much skepticism by the philosophical circles of Europe; they refused to take it seriously because, according to the sarcastic remark which became popular, it was a philosophy "by decree," a philosophy "made to order," and as such lacked the freedom and independence from external authority which is the first requisite of serious scientific work. This reproach was a thorn in the flesh of the Louvain school, which missed no opportunity to proclaim its philosophical autonomy and accepted the challenge to persuade the world that in Louvain philosophy was not *ancilla theologiae*.

Si nous songeons à asservir notre pensée en philosophie à celle d'un maître celui-ci s'appelait-il Saint Thomas, c'est Saint Thomas lui-même qui nous condamnerait. Locus ab auctoritate quae fundatur super ratione humana est infirmissimus.

Such was the statement made in the program (by Cardinal Mercier) of the *Revue Néo-scholastique*, the official organ of the school (vol. I, 1894, p. 14). And still more strikingly Professor De Wulf, in a pamphlet incorporated later in an enlarged form in his book, *Introduction à la philosophie scholastique* (1899), proclaimed:

Above all, scholastic philosophy is autonomous: it has a value of its own, a value that is absolute and independent. The independence of modern scholasticism in relation to all theology, as in relation to all other sciences whatever, is simply an interpretation of that unquestionable principle of scientific progress, as applicable in the twentieth century as it was in the thirteenth, that a properly constituted science derives its formal object, its principles, and its constructive method exclusively from its own domain, and that in these things any borrowing from another science would compromise its very right to a separate existence.²³

No wonder that the philosophical school of Louvain has carefully avoided trespassing on theological ground, and has

pushed its scruples in this matter to the point of uttering frequent warning to its members not to yield to the temptation of intermingling apologetic purposes with their scientific work.

There are times [said Cardinal Mercier in an address to the students], namely those of scientific research, in which neutrality is a duty with us. We must not handle the problems of physics, of chemistry, of biology, those of history or of social economy, with the preconceived purpose of finding in them a confirmation of our religious beliefs. . . . To consider a science from a different angle than that which is presented by its formal object, to carry in the study of this latter an attention divided between this object and another problem pertaining to another science, between this object and an apologetic task, is to misunderstand the very essence of scientific speculation and to reverse the process that the investigator is in duty bound to follow (*Revue Néo-scholastique*, vol. V, 1908, pp. 5-6).

No less definite on this point is the attitude of the Italian neo-scholastic group, which, commenting on the utterance of Cardinal Mercier, states in the first issue of its organ *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-scholastica*:

Philosophy must be neutral. In so far as it concerns the philosopher himself, he has always the same right to be neutral; sometimes he has even the duty to be so; in most cases to be neutral is better (January, 1909, p. 48).

With this *fin de non-recevoir* Louvainian neo-scholasticism dismissed theology.

It is interesting to notice how this need of emphasizing to the utmost the autonomy of modern scholasticism has affected even the historical reconstruction of mediaeval scholasticism attempted by De Wulf. The term scholasticism, first used by the humanists as a disparaging word to characterize the whole mediaeval philosophy, has now acquired an historical value, and hence a concrete definition of its content is needed by the historians. Some of them found the essence of scholasticism in its Aristotelian connections, others in its syllogistic method, others, and the greater number, considered its specific character to reside in its subordination, both pedagogical and material, to theology. De Wulf effectively criticized all those definitions, and proposed to give the name scholasticism only to a definite mediaeval philosophical system, which is more or less easily isolated from the chaos of mediaeval philosophy so as to be

considered as a consistent and independent whole. In the main such a system is best represented by Aquinas; but it is not represented by him alone nor by him entirely (if it were, scholasticism would be identical with Thomism), but was the doctrine of a large group of philosophers who shared in common the fundamental and essential principles of the system, disagreeing on other points. Under this definition not only Aquinas and Albert of Cologne, but Bonaventura and Duns Scotus and Occam himself would all belong to the same class, while all the mediaeval philosophers who did not hold to those fundamental points would have to be grouped in another class, the anti-scholastics.²⁴

It has been pointed out that this classification of De Wulf is entirely arbitrary and unhistorical. It does not correspond to historical reality, but is an artificial construction like the hippogryph, made by gathering diverse historical elements into a factitious whole; and in many cases the divergencies which separate these ill-mated companions are more fundamental than the points on which they agree. But the essential motive of De Wulf's definition is the need of finding in mediaeval scholasticism at least a virtual autonomy for philosophy in independence of theology in order to justify modern scholasticism in adopting the same attitude. The difficulty, however, lies in the positive fact that the existence in the middle ages of a consistent and independent philosophical system which explained the universe by the light of reason with no reference whatever to revealed truth, is a strictly modern invention, for such a system was not considered autonomous by the mediaeval philosophers themselves. Not only were external causes active, as De Wulf would like us to believe, such as the pedagogy of the mediaeval curriculum or the sociological character of the essentially religious civilization of that period, but still more the final *reductio ad unitatem* of all mediaeval speculation was founded on theological premises and worked on theological grounds.

The whole *cours de philosophie* of Louvain is affected by this conception, which before it was stated historically already underlay Cardinal Mercier's use of the materials of mediaeval

scholasticism in those neo-scholastic treatises, which stand as the eminent cardinal's title to scientific glory. His synthesis, as is obvious from the program of the school, is not confined to the mediaeval material, but has derived from various and more modern sources a large amount of other material which he has forced into the Thomistic frame. Whether he has succeeded in making a homogeneous whole of these heterogeneous materials is open to doubt. It has been declared inconsistent not only by the non-scholastic philosophers and, as well, by the scholastics who advocate a Thomistic integralism, but also by the younger generation of the neo-scholastics themselves, who have made plain their intention to throw overboard the whole Louvainian synthesis. Their indictment of Mercier's criteriology leaves no doubt on this point. According to Olgiate, one of the most distinguished members of the Italian neo-scholastic group:

The position of Mercier is contradictory in so far as it claims to refute absolute dogmatism and at the same time does not itself reach objective conclusions otherwise than by presupposing always the legitimacy of the very process which is peculiar to absolute dogmatism (*Rivista di Filosofia Neoscholastica*, vol. VI, p. 337).

As a consequence the Italian group has declared its independence of Louvain on this capital point, which involves the rejection of the whole synthesis:

Mature reflexion and above all the coming among us of young men who are well trained in modern philosophy have produced the doubt whether the criteriology of Louvain is satisfactory, and we have more and more detached ourselves from our friends of Louvain in the solution of many problems, but especially of this one. In this criticism of Louvain we have found ourselves to be all in accord, those who defend the pure and integral Thomistic tradition as well as those who, being more accessible to the influence of modern thought, aim to think over again their scholasticism in the light of modern knowledge. This accord is purely negative, but it has a high value in so far as it shows that, starting from different points of view, we agree in affirming that it is useless to attempt the reconstruction of the theory of knowledge by starting from the critique of knowledge. . . . We recognize willingly that the school of Louvain has the merit of having called the attention of scholasticism to the problem of criteriology, and that Cardinal Mercier has fully demonstrated that this is the central problem of a philosophical system; but his solution no longer satisfies us. Therefore the first thing we must now do is to show the insufficiencies of the Louvainian construction (ib. pp. 450 f.).

But those who felt more disappointed in the tendencies of Louvain were the Thomistic theologians who could not agree with Mercier and De Wulf in their two fundamental points: their refusal to adhere to an integral Thomistic philosophy and their claim of philosophical independence. Such a claim was labelled as philosophical "liberalism." Jesuits and Dominicans warned Louvain that the path of its philosophy was leading to Kantianism, and that they were going astray from the pontifical directions of the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*. Such was the opinion of Janvier, the celebrated Dominican, successor of Lacordaire, Monsabre, and D'Hulst in the pulpit of Notre Dame at Paris, who had no doubt that "the most enlightened and right-minded scholastics took the encyclical of Leo literally and proceeded to expound the whole teaching of Saint Thomas, following both the method and the style of the Angelic Doctor himself." "

It was fortunate for Louvain that the pontificate of Leo XIII, who considered that school as his own creation, was long enough to permit its philosophy to gain a foothold among the younger clergy and to resist the attacks from various sides; it was still more fortunate that at the time of the suppression of Modernism the responsibility for the orthodoxy of Louvain rested on the shoulders of a Roman cardinal like Mercier, of distinguished authority and personally above suspicion. But there was a moment when Pius X himself was not far from thinking that Louvain was in part responsible for encouraging among the younger clergy the respect for and confidence in modern science which was one of the evil sources of Modernism. When Janvier uttered the words quoted above, Professor De Wulf remarked that Janvier's "expression of opinion called forth numerous protests, even unexpected protests; and we have every reason to be glad that it did so." " We wonder whether he was equally glad when a few years later in a letter of praise and encouragement to the new editor of the *Revue Thomiste*, a periodical of integralist Thomistic philosophy and theology to which Janvier was a frequent contributor, Pius X stated clearly that he fully agreed with Janvier's view:

*Sed tamen confidamus . . . doctrinam Aquinatis incorruptam atque integram propagando, ipsos qui a christiana philosophia alieni sunt, paulatim adducatis ut hunc adeant sapientiae fontem in omni disciplinae genere uberrium.*¹⁷

No less objectionable in the eyes of the theologians was the emphasis put by Louvain upon the independence and neutrality of their philosophy. It was explicitly in the name of this theory that the French group of Catholic neo-kantians, the Catholic pragmatists and immanentists, asserted the right to philosophize outside the ranks of scholasticism, and it was on the same principle that modernist historians claimed the right to pursue neutral historical criticism. If a neutral philosophy was legitimate, why not a neutral history? To clear himself from the slightest complicity with Modernism Cardinal Mercier found it necessary to break his silence and to throw a stone at the new heretics in his Lenten Pastoral of 1908.

In the form of an attack upon Modernism the pastoral was primarily a defence of himself and of his school:

Modernism is not the modern form of science, and therefore the condemnation of Modernism is neither the condemnation of that science, of which we are justly proud, nor the repudiation of its methods, which Catholic scientists rightly regard it an honor to put in practice and to teach.

Modernism, according to the Cardinal, consists essentially in the rejection of revelation and of the authority of the hierarchy, and its origin is due in the main to Protestant influences, but Belgium has escaped its pernicious tendency:

Thank God Belgian Catholics have escaped the heresies of Modernism. The representatives of philosophy and theology in our universities and free faculties and those of the seminaries and religious congregations have unanimously and spontaneously declared and proved in a document signed by each of them that the Pope by his courageous encyclical has saved the faith and protected science.

It was this pastoral that provoked the famous letter of George Tyrrell: *Mediaevalism: A Reply to Cardinal Mercier*.

Nevertheless the struggle against Louvain continued up to the death of Pius X, and when the more liberal policy inaugurated by Benedict XV brought relief to the tense situation,

Cardinal Mercier expressed his satisfaction in outspoken words:

It was not enough, for the self-appointed knights of orthodoxy, to profess oneself a faithful Catholic; in order more religiously to obey the Pope they pretended it to be necessary to challenge the authority of the bishops. Journalists without commission dared to excommunicate those who refused to pass under the Caudine Forks of their Integralism. Fear had invaded every religious soul, and honest consciences were suffering, but they could not speak.

The integralism to which Cardinal Mercier referred was that doctrine which taught that the authority of the pope over the Catholic people is not confined to the religious life alone, but is supreme in political and social matters as well; but it will not be a misrepresentation of the Cardinal's mind to suppose that Thomistic integralism was included in his energetic denunciation.²⁸

The war and the wanton destruction of Louvain and of its libraries and laboratories, the dispersal of its professors and students, stopped all the activities of the school until 1919, when the work of reconstruction was immediately started and the *Revue Néo-scholastique* resumed its publication. In so far as concerns Cardinal Mercier and his school, the dangerous times of Pius X belong to the remote past. It cannot be said, however, that the neo-scholastic sky is entirely clear of clouds. This appears from the circular letter of the general Ledochowski to all the members of the Society of Jesus (1917), in which the few cases where they are permitted to discard Aquinas' teaching in philosophy are carefully described and limited to questions of secondary importance. This letter was warmly approved and recommended by Pope Benedict XV and thereby acquired a normative value outside Jesuit circles.²⁹

While Louvain has little to be satisfied with from this side, it has still less to be pleased with in the attitude taken by the neo-scholastics outside its school. Its influence on them is rapidly declining: both the doctrinal synthesis of Cardinal Mercier and the historical synthesis of De Wulf are in process of disintegration in the hands of their former disciples. What will take the place in the near future of the Louvainian synthe-

sis among the younger generation of scholastics it is too early to foresee.⁴⁰ But certainly it will not be the philosophy of Thomistic integralism. The school of Louvain has helped to make impossible such unconditional surrender, and this is at present its greatest accomplishment. Theology, as we have remarked already, has received no direct contribution from Louvain,⁴¹ but indirectly, by keeping alive the scientific spirit and the historical interest in scholastic circles, and by remaining in touch with modern forms of thought, the school of Louvain has done a great service to theology and has coöperated with Modernism in preventing the theologians from slumbering quietly under the laurels gathered by scholasticism in the thirteenth century.

III

In the last years of the nineteenth century, the president of St. John's Catholic Seminary of Boston, Père Hogan, a French Lazarist of Irish birth, and a theologian imbued with the doctrines and the spirit of Newman, outlined the principles by which Catholic theology ought to be renovated.⁴² This was first of all to be by discarding in most cases the literal interpretation of the Bible: for instance, the prophetic description of the resurrection and the last judgment must be regarded as presenting only a poetic picture (p. 175). In the second place a discrimination must be made among the teachings of the fathers according to the results of modern historical criticism. Many opinions, for instance those of St. Augustine, were only inferences from his own personal thinking or his own personal experience, and were set forth by him in a tentative way. Soon, however, his hesitations were forgotten and those opinions were repeated and transmitted as a sort of tradition from which theology was not free to depart (p. 177). And finally the *a priori* deductive method of mediaeval theology must be used as little as possible and only when its results are susceptible of verification by direct observation.

For deductive method was to the scholastics not only a method of demonstration but the principal means of discovery in every sphere of knowledge. It was so that they came to know everything about the angelic world; that

they told the story of the creation with details such as no one would venture upon nowadays; that they described the state of innocence as if they themselves had lived through it, and were led to attack with touching candor the most arduous problems and boldly to rush in where angels fear to tread.

The hopes of Père Hogan have not as yet been realized, and Catholic theology has made little progress in that direction in these last twenty-five years: in most of these matters it has remained at a stand-still, in some it has even had a set-back. For instance, far from considering the prophetic description of the last judgment as "only a poetic picture from which no solid facts can be extracted with certainty beyond the reality of these great events" (Hogan, p. 176), the great spokesman of modern Catholic theology, Cardinal Billot, in a recent book (*La Parousie*, 1920) takes it literally, and even appeals to the theories of modern astronomy regarding the ways in which the world may meet a catastrophic end in order to prove that these scientific theories agree with the prophecies of the eschatological passages of the Synoptics and with the Book of Revelation. Cardinal Billot ends his book with a gloomy picture of the present period, in which he finds already some of the precursory signs of the approaching end and especially one which is very significant. According to the teaching of Paul (Rom. 11, 25-32) and to the prophecy of Hosea (3, 4-5) the whole Jewish people shall be converted to Christianity before the end comes: "and they shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the last days." But such a wholesale conversion of the Jewish people cannot take place unless their dispersion also comes to an end, according to the same prophecy of Hosea: the fact therefore of the reorganization of a free state in Palestine, which is the *prélude obligé* of the Jewish conversion, is a clear sign of the approach of the great catastrophe (pp. 344 f.).

La Parousie claims to be a refutation of the Modernist contention that Jesus was mistaken in teaching that the end of the world was near at hand, "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." Cardinal Billot's exegesis of the eschatological passages of Mark 13, Matthew 24, and Luke 21 is not new, but certainly it had never been put forth so forcibly as in his book. The words of Jesus contain a

double prophecy, that of the fall of Jerusalem and that of the catastrophic end of the world. Of both it was prophesied that they would take place within the generation of Jesus, and as a matter of fact both of them were fulfilled: the first, that concerning the fall of Jerusalem, in reality, the second, that concerning the final catastrophe, in figure: that is to say, the fall of Jerusalem, being a figure of the catastrophic end of the world, fulfilled both prophecies:

Dans la prophétie qui nous occupe, tout ce qui se rapporte au dernier jour du monde a eu sans difficulté en la ruine de Jérusalem, et par conséquent avant que fût passée la génération contemporaine de Jésus, un premier accomplissement . . . en figure sans doute, ou si l'on veut en effigie seulement, mais suffisant déjà selon l'usage de l'Ecriture pour autoriser la locution "donec omnia fiant" (p. 65).

If the Christians of the first generations misunderstood Jesus and believed that the end was really imminent, that was due to their geographical ignorance, by which they thought that the Gospel had been already preached in the whole world. The exact meaning of the words of Jesus was reserved to be known only by us moderns; as for the Christians who lived before us, Jesus purposely left them in darkness in order that in fear of the near end they might turn their hearts to God.

To an interest in geography again ⁴ Cardinal Billot attributes the prominence in modern theology of the old question of the eternal destiny of men who live and die outside the Church. He has discussed this in seven long articles in *Les Études* under the title, 'La Providence de Dieu et le nombre infini d'hommes en dehors de la vie normale du salut.' This infinite multitude of men he divides into four large groups: (a) unbaptized children who die before the age of discretion; (b) men who although physically adults have lived in a state of perpetual spiritual infancy without ever reaching the consciousness of moral and religious life; (c) men who being adult both physically and spiritually do not come into contact with Christianity; (d) heretics and schismatics, and all members of the innumerable sects cut off from the Roman Catholic Church.

The author has so far dealt only with the first two classes. The historical side of this presentation is fragmentary and somewhat one-sided, and gave the *Revue d'Histoire et de Lit-*

térature Religieuses, edited by A. Loisy, the opportunity to state again the problem in its complete historical development and under a different light (Edmond Perrin, 'Le Cardinal Billot et le sort des infidèles défunts,' 1921, pp. 349-417).⁴⁴

The doctrine regarding unbaptized children makes a long chapter in the history of theology: from Augustine, who condemned them to the fire of hell together with all other sinners, and Abelard, who rescued them from the fire but made them suffer privation of the vision of God (thus giving origin to limbo), to Aquinas,⁴⁵ who denied their suffering altogether and granted them the joy that comes from the fruition of natural happiness; — and then again from Bellarmin, who with a reversion to the Abelardian view stamped the more lenient doctrine as Pelagianism, to Pope Pius VI,⁴⁶ who condemned as heretics those who rejected limbo and the *poena damni* to which the children were submitted, and finally to the complete revival of Aquinas' teaching by modern theologians, we assist at one of the most instructive of theological struggles. The importance of the question lies mainly in the fact that its solution depends upon the theological conception of the nature of original sin, that dogma on which the whole Christian theology stands. Any attempt at a new interpretation of this dogma cannot fail to affect the whole system.

Cardinal Billot rejects with horror the opinion, which he attributes in a special way to the theologians of the eighteenth century,⁴⁷ that original sin is a kind of personal sin for which each individual is responsible as if he had committed it of his own free will, further, that Adam was constituted by divine decree moral and juridical head of all mankind, and that all human wills were included in his will so that his descendants participated in his transgression and are all of them equally responsible for it. "No," says Cardinal Billot, "this is not the dogma of original sin; those theories are groundless, they have no basis either in the Scripture or in the Tradition and are condemned by reason" (p. 184). The true doctrine is that taught implicitly by Aquinas which Billot now states in explicit and clear form.

First of all, in the interpretation of the famous text of Paul

the Latin version of which misled St. Augustine and still misleads modern theologians, "*in quo omnes peccaverunt*," a distinction is to be made. The verb *peccare* implies a double idea, that of committing the sinful act and that of contracting a stain as a consequence of the act. In the Pauline passage it is to be taken in this second sense alone. But how was the stain contracted by the descendants of Adam? The answer is simple, God created man perfect *in statu naturae*. But besides granting to man this natural perfection, which made him capable of only a natural happiness, God in his infinite goodness lifted man to a state above nature by conferring upon him the free gift of *original justice*. This consisted primarily in the sanctifying grace which made man capable of attaining a supernatural happiness, that is, the vision of God from which by nature all created beings are excluded. To this gift was also added another gift, that of *integrity*, the effect of which is to maintain due harmony and subordination among the faculties of the human soul and between body and soul.

Now (and this is the kernel of the whole doctrine) these free gifts of original justice and integrity were not an organic part of human nature as such, neither were they a personal gift to Adam alone; but they constituted a kind of "quality affecting the species," and therefore were to be shared by all mankind. When therefore Adam by his sin lost the original justice and the gift of integrity, he lost them as he had received them, that is to say, as gifts which were to be transmitted to the whole species, "*et voilà tout le mystère du malheur de notre naissance, voilà toute l'explication du dogme qui le concerne*" (Études, vol. 162, p. 147).

As a matter of fact, continues Billot, the loss of the original justice was for man a degradation which carried with it the destruction of all the relations that were to subsist between man and God as son and father, and, moreover, it implied "an essential relation to the transgression which alone was its cause." It had therefore all the characters of a real stain coming from sin, which we contract by birth in so far as we receive the nature of Adam "*corrompue en Adam comme en sa source*" (ib. p. 148).

Such being the nature of original sin, it follows that unbaptized children cannot be condemned to the fire of hell, which is the penalty of personal sin, but neither can they be admitted to the vision of God, which is reserved for those who are exalted by sanctifying grace to the supernatural order. This is the penalty imposed upon them because they share in the corrupted nature of Adam. The privation, however, is in the domain of the unconscious, so that they do not suffer; without pain they will possess all the goods imparted to them by nature (*Études*, vol. 163, pp. 30, 31).

Billot confesses that his explanation of the nature of original sin does not rest on any express Scriptural text, and that it is founded on deductions (*Études*, vol. 169, p. 389); he recognizes that the doctrine rejected by him is the teaching of Augustine and of the majority of Catholic theologians down to modern times, but he denies that it is the doctrine of Aquinas or the real doctrine of the Church as formulated by popes and councils, especially that of Trent. E. Perrin in the article quoted above shows at a great length that Billot is mistaken in both these denials. He proves that the dogma of original sin as taught by the Church necessarily implies participation in the act of Adam, and that such has been the doctrine of popes and councils since Augustine, who based it on his traducianist theories. To the objection that free will is essentially incommunicable, they have replied without flinching: "Physically, yes; morally, no; the will of the father being considered as that of his children." And what is still more serious, this seems to be also the teaching of Aquinas, whom Billot has not fully quoted. As a matter of fact, Aquinas states clearly the voluntary character of original sin, in that the will of all his descendants is in some way included in the will of Adam: "*inordinatio quae est in isto homine ex Adam generato non est voluntaria voluntate ipsius sed voluntate primi parentis . . . sicut voluntas animae movet omnia membra ad actum*" (*Summa Theol.* 1a 2ae, quaest. LXXXI-a. 1). And still more explicitly in 'De Malo,' where he says: "An individual can be considered either as an individual or as part of a whole. . . . Considered in the second way, an act can be *his* although he has not done

it himself, not has it been done by his free will, but by the rest of the society or by its head" (IV-1). In this passage Aquinas repeats almost verbally Augustine (Op. imperf. i, 148, and Retract. i, 131), and he gives no hint that he intends his words to bear a meaning totally different from that of Augustine. There can be no doubt that the whole Catholic tradition is against Cardinal Billot. Is then Cardinal Billot a heretic? M. Perrin thinks that he is. That would be an embarrassing situation for a judge of the supreme tribunal of the Holy Roman Inquisition.

Still more radical is the teaching of Billot concerning the eternal salvation of adults in age but not in reason and conscience. By that are meant not the feeble-minded but men who remain always in complete ignorance of the laws of moral and religious life. Billot warns his readers that on this point he is breaking new ground "because this question has never been examined directly by the great theologians. His starting point is from the teaching of Aquinas that "no man may be considered as spiritually adult, that is to say, that no man acquires the true notion of good and evil, the consciousness of obligation and of moral responsibility, as long as his reason has not reached the knowledge of God as our creator and master, first author of our being and final end of all human life. It is on such a knowledge that "the law of conscience" is based. Now invincible ignorance excuses from sin; therefore those men who belong to this class, no matter how they live, do not commit sin, and as a consequence cannot be punished with eternal damnation: their lot is the same as that of the unbaptized children.

This argument involves two questions, one a question of fact, whether such an invincible ignorance of God is possible, and the other, granted that that is possible, whether it excuses from moral responsibility. Billot replies to both in the affirmative, and contends that the proposition holds of the great mass of heathen populations before and after Christ. Undoubtedly the whole theological tradition is against Cardinal Billot. Invincible ignorance as to God is not possible according to Paul (Rom. 1, 19-20); it is flatly denied by Augustine, "*Deum . . . quem nemo permittitur ignorare*" (in Ps. 74, 9);

it is denied by Aquinas, "*Per principia nobis innata de facili percipere possumus Deum esse;*" ⁴⁹ and even in the opinion of heathen philosophers like Cicero, "*Intelligi necesse est deos quoniam insitas eorum vel potius innatas cognitiones habemus.*" ⁵⁰ Such a possibility, and that only in the case of men at a very low stage of savage life, seems first to have been admitted by Molina, ⁵¹ as it was later by the Jesuits of Würzburg, with the restriction that such an ignorance could not last long. As for the second question, the common teaching of early Christian theology is that the great mass of heathen people were condemned to eternal damnation; and by this idea the missionary spirit of the early Church was fostered. Augustine and the whole Augustinian school deny that such ignorance excuses from sin, on the ground that it is never invincible. Aquinas and the Thomists after him teach that there are principles of natural law which produce responsibility, and that they are engraved in the hearts of all men. ⁵² About the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuits formulated the doctrine that a man does not commit sin unless he positively knows that his action is an offence against God; whence it follows that a man who acts against reason and morals without knowing God or without thinking of God is not guilty of theological sin, but only of a kind of *philosophical sin*, which, however, is not an offence against God. After the vigorous denunciation of this doctrine by Pascal and Arnaud ⁵³ the plea of a philosophical sin was condemned by Rome (August 1690), because, as Bossuet contended: "*il n'y a pas de péché philosophique en ce sens que tout péché philosophique est par voie de conséquence théologique.*" It seems that Cardinal Billot's theory implies the same assumption, namely that the violations of the natural law committed by those who are in state of invincible ignorance cannot be called sins, or at least not in a theological sense.

Such is the formidable array of objections and difficulties that Billot finds in his way, and which he tries to overcome with a courage that deserves admiration. His main argument may be stated as follows: The natural knowledge of God, this quasi-innate idea of God of which Paul and Augustine and Aquinas speak in the passages quoted above, is nothing but a

vague and very indefinite idea of a superior cause on which the order of the world depends; as a matter of fact a superficial glance at the history of the heathen popular religions shows what absurd and hideous aspects it took when translated into concrete forms. It was more in the nature of a prenotion than of a real notion. If it be objected that nature gives the prenotion and must therefore possess and provide the means to reach the notion, since the *intentiones naturae* are founded on the extension of its resources, the reply is that nature does make this provision, but that not all individuals are in a condition to use it. According to Aquinas there are two ways of acquiring knowledge, the first when one finds the truth by himself, "*et hic modus dicitur inventio*," the second when one learns the truth by another, "*et hic modus dicitur secundum disciplinam*" (De Ver. q. 11, a. 1). The means of reaching a formal notion of God are provided by nature in the knowledge *secundum modum disciplinae*, that is to say, in the social life. In other words those heathen who live in an environment of culture, such as learned men, philosophers, and jurists, and in general the men of superior education, certainly attain to formal knowledge of God, and it is of them that Paul speaks when he says: "for the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against . . . men who hold the truth in unrighteousness" (Rom. 1, 18). But the great mass of ignorant people could hardly be in the same position, their knowledge of God in most cases must have remained in the stage of indefinite surmise.

Now is it this kind of knowledge that puts man in condition to be elevated to the supernatural order and makes him capable of salvation? Certainly not; all theologians agree on this point. But if it does not enable the soul to receive the sanctifying grace, no more does it produce that moral responsibility which is necessary for sin; and all theologians agree that there is no sin unless there is responsibility, that is to say, a full consciousness of the law and the intention of violating it. As for the condemnation of philosophical sin, Billot turns it into an argument for his thesis, arguing that its condemnation does not imply that the so-called philosophical sin is to be taken as a theological sin, but on the contrary that it is no sin at all. A

last objection may come from our reluctance to accept as moral a theory according to which men fully adult in body, and possessing the use of reason, may commit all kinds of hideous crimes and yet, because they lack a formal notion of God, be considered as not responsible and therefore not liable to punishment. Here Billot has a reply ready which shows the depths of his ingenuity. He says that such an objection arises solely because we conceive of morals as without religion, of ethics as based on nature with no relation to theology; that is the root of all evils. And, moreover, logic is logic, and a man must not shrink from the truth, whatever it be.

Apart from the importance of the problem itself, the attitude taken towards it by Cardinal Billot is a most significant and instructive manifestation of the process which is going on within Catholic theology today. It rests on an implicit acknowledgment that Catholic theology is in need of a radical revision in the light of history and of a philosophy more flexible than the rigid Thomistic intellectualism; but at the same time that such a revision is not to be made with open frankness, as the Modernists attempted to do, that it must appear neither as a break with the past nor as a surrender to the claims of modern science. The fact that Billot does his best to put his new theories under the patronage of Aquinas, and to present them as a simple restatement of the true doctrines purified from the incrustations accumulated by shortsighted theologians, or as logical deductions from venerable principles of undisputed validity, is a clear indication of the method deemed suitable for the purpose. But what has led Catholic theologians like Cardinal Billot to such a realization?

As we have already noticed, the problem of the eternal destiny of unbelievers depends for its solution upon the more fundamental problem of whether a knowledge of God is able to reach the individual man left to his reason alone, and if so what kind of knowledge. Billot has appealed to history on this point, and has found out that *secundum modum inventionis* man can reach only a vague surmise, an indefinite idea of God which is not even sufficient to make a man morally responsible. A definite and formal idea of God is acquired by man *secundum*

modum disciplinae; but as Billot is not a traditionalist, and does not believe in innate ideas, the pedagogical method necessarily presupposes revelation. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that Billot's faith in the validity of the metaphysical arguments is shaken, and that he is turning towards a sentimental theology; on the contrary it is against such a theology that he indirectly polemizes. If he disparages reason, it is not in behalf of conscience, quite the opposite, but only in behalf of external revelation.

Catholic theology entrenched itself behind Thomistic intellectualism as a rampart against the attacks of modern philosophy; but it seems that some theologians are beginning to realize that solitude, even in a stronghold, hardly befits a doctrine which has set as its goal the conquest of the world. They are fully aware that modern philosophy has lost all interest in the metaphysical frame of their theology, and that the masses are not accessible to metaphysics at all; and it has finally dawned upon them that a theology which by logical deduction reaches conclusions morally absurd and then takes refuge in the mystery and unknowable purposes of God, is not a theology that longer appeals to modern minds and modern consciences. Even a conservative theologian like Billot cannot escape the influences of his environment and the tendencies of the times. The demand today is for a more intelligent and substantial realization in the world of the principles and ideals of justice. It is in the name of racial and economic justice that Europe is hopelessly struggling to rearrange its political and economic life; in the name of justice every nation is revising its social legislation; in the name of the divine justice Cardinal Billot has begun to revise the conclusions of Catholic theology relating to original sin and the eternal destiny of unbelievers.

Cardinal Billot knows that his contentions will be sharply attacked by those theologians of various shades who are always ready for trouble and have lynx eyes to discover heresy in everything carrying a flavor of novelty. For them he has written the latest chapter of his treatise. It is a very able *apologia pro domo sua*, in which, after a clear summary of his reasons for departing from certain theological traditions

founded on erroneous premises, he emphasizes the fact that the question of the unbelievers had never before been approached in direct fashion, and that there was no definite and consistent tradition concerning it. The tradition begins now with Cardinal Billot himself, and he is quite right in ending with an appeal from the theologians of yesterday insufficiently informed "*aux théologiens de demain mieux avertis et plus complètement informés*" (Études, vol. 169, p. 407).

IV

In his latest chapter Cardinal Billot urges strongly that modern studies in the history of religions have made it impossible for apologists to use, as they have done from earliest times, the famous argument of the eternity of Christianity, that is, of the existence of a Christian revelation in the heathen world before Christ. That has been a favorite topic not only with apologists and great preachers, especially of the last century, but also with the Catholic writers of theological treatises, *De vera religione* and *De Ecclesia*. Such is not the case with the new book of the Jesuit Michael D'Herbigny, *Theologica de Ecclesia. I. De Deo universos evocante ad sui regni vitam, seu de institutione Ecclesiae primaeva: II. De Deo Catholicam Ecclesiam organice vivificante, seu de hodierna Ecclesiae agnitione*, Paris, 1920, 1921.

It has been remarked that in the systematization of modern Catholic theology the chapter *De Ecclesia* has become the central point from which the whole theology receives its light and in which finally converge all the lines of development. The treatise *De Ecclesia*, as it is found in modern books of Catholic theology, is of relatively recent formation. In ancient theology the doctrine about the Church developed from the question, 'Where is the Church?' in modern times the question is, 'Whether there is a Church?' The whole ground of inquiry is changed. Since the sixteenth century the various parts of this doctrine have received more attention, and only in the nineteenth century was a systematization of them made, in close connection with the treatise *De vera religione*, of which after all the discussion of the Church is the logical complement.

Father D'Herbigny is well known for his competence in matters of the theology and history of the Russian Church. He has published a sympathetic spiritual biography of Soloviev (*Un Newman Russe: Vladimir Soloviev*, Paris, 1911), and recently he has contributed to *Les Études* a series of noteworthy articles on the religious situation in Russia and on the necessity of definitely organizing the Catholic Church in that country not according to the Latin rite but to the Slavic, duly respecting all traditions and liturgical customs which do not contradict any essential point of Catholic dogma. This remark about D'Herbigny is necessary because his recent book has the evident purpose of providing a sound treatise *De Ecclesia* for theologians and students of theology who received their first education in non-catholic schools or who are expected to minister among populations of schismatics, especially among those belonging to the Russian and other eastern Orthodox churches.

Departing from the method followed in similar treatises by other theologians (Wilmers, Pesch, Hurter, Mazzella, and Billot) whose works on the Church were written to help their students in their examinations (*pro sua erga auditores immediatos benignitate, esotericam praecipue utilitatem ad examen pericula superanda intendebant*, I, p. 10), D'Herbigny not only combines the speculative and the historical method, but actually gives more space and more importance to the history than to the exposition of the doctrine itself. This method he thinks more adapted *ad psychologiam inquirentium mentem* (p. 5).

It cannot be said that this book contains any new contribution to ecclesiological doctrines, except in the arrangement of the material and in the form in which the various doctrines are formulated. It is interesting to notice that on the question of the eternal destiny of unbelievers D'Herbigny, after stating the accepted general principle of invincible ignorance, refuses to make any further statement, alleging the warning given by Pope Pius IX (December 9, 1854): "*Nunc vero quis tantum sibi arroget ut huiusmodi ignorantiae designare limites queat iuxta populorum, regionum, ingeniorum, aliarumque rerum tam multarum rationem et varietatem?*" But he does not hesitate to mani-

fest his skepticism as to the possibility of salvation for heretics and schismatics because of the difficulty of their remaining undisturbed in the state of *male informata conscientia*. As a matter of fact, as he points out, almost all Christian sects have retained in their symbols of faith the article on the unity of the Church, which implies the principle that outside the Church there is no salvation. And it ought to be relatively easy for an intelligent person to see where and which is the true Church: there are the external signs, the *notae ecclesiae*, which can hardly be missed or misunderstood. For the benefit of non-catholic souls D'Herbigny calls attention to another visible sign of the true Church which is still more easily recognizable, namely, the spirit and practice of propagandism: "*Propagandismi absentia sufficit ut jam cognoscatur ibi non esse legitimam Christi Ecclesiam mentemque ubi societas Christianorum quaelibet acatholica zelo non ardeat pro conversione mundi*" (I, p. 135). That is meant not only for the orthodox churches, whose missionary activities ceased long ago, but also for the Protestant churches, which during two centuries had no missions at all, then had some, but, as he holds, with political purposes, and have more now, but in which these "*severe ab ipsis protestantibus judicabantur.*"

Considering the aims of the author in writing this treatise it is rather surprising that he found it necessary to insist with much determination on some doctrines of secondary importance which on the one hand are only survivals of mediaeval claims and on the other are irreconcilable with modern mentality, and as such have been proscribed by all modern civilized nations, as for instance the doctrine of the *potestas judiciaria circa res externas*, that is, the power of the Church to inflict temporal punishments, like prison or exile, without interference from the civil power. A still worse example is the doctrine of religious intolerance: "*Charitas est,*" he says, "*ea quae dicitur intolerantia, ubi errori denegantur iura veritatis, vel ubi legitima missio Christi opponitur falsariis et pseudo-prophetis*" (I, p. 135).

In the historical exposition the author frequently employs a distinctly polemical tone hardly likely to win for his argument the assent of a fair-minded reader. Of course Father D'Her-

bigny could not be expected to accept any of the conclusions of biblical criticism on such vital questions as that of the institution of the church by Jesus, or the historical reconstruction of early Christianity with its prominent eschatological hopes and its dependence on the Hellenistic environment; but the dogmatic tone (made worse by the crabbed Latin of his scholastic form) in which all modern theories are rather summarily dismissed, while it may bear witness to the strong faith and convictions of the author, must at the same time produce a repellent effect on the student not trained to rest comfortably on the *verba magistri*. But it is an advantage and a sign of the times that these theories are not ignored altogether. On the contrary there are in this book frequent quotations from non-catholic authors when their opinion agrees with the Catholic tradition. Harnack especially is largely exploited, and his name appears almost as often as that of St. Augustine and more often than that of Monsignor Batiffol.

The attention given by D'Herbigny to questions which have a special importance for the Orthodox churches and the references to opinions and books of Russian and Greek theologians give distinction to this treatise, and make it useful for the student who lacks first-hand knowledge of the sources. No complete and satisfactory history of Orthodox theology has been written in any of the western European languages or in Latin; D'Herbigny could supply this gap, and would so render a great service to scholars.

Ecclesiology is also the primary subject with which Monsignor Batiffol deals in *Le Catholicisme de St. Augustin* (Paris, 1920), a continuation of his two previous volumes, *L'Église naissante et le Catholicisme* and *La Paix Constantinienne et le Catholicisme*. The present work differs from these in being more decidedly a book of theology than a book of history. Its purpose is polemic, aiming at a radical refutation of the assumption of some modern historians who consider Augustine as the real founder of western Catholicism. Far from being the founder of the Catholic system, Augustine as interpreted by Batiffol was the faithful continuator of the tradition which goes back to the early Church, and his original contribution to

Christianity is "*d'avoir fait du Catholicisme non plus seulement une intelligence, non plus seulement une unité mais une mystique*" (p. 548).

Against the common opinion that Augustine considered the Church as the rule of faith, and assigned to Scripture a dependent place, according to the famous passage, "*Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me Catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas*," Batiffol concludes that the real teaching of Augustine is that both the authenticity of Scripture and the divine character of the Church are proved by independent historical arguments, and that therefore the Scripture is the source of faith, but that it is supported also by the independent authority of the Church: "*Pour Augustin dans le plan d'une logique rigoureuse l'autorité de l'Eglise ne fait pas l'autorité de l'Evangile, et si elle la confirme ce n'est qu'autant qu'elle ne dépend pas elle-même de l'Evangile*" (p. 25).

Did Augustine teach the doctrine about the dogmatic development which is commonly attributed to Vincent of Lerins? Batiffol thinks so, on the evidence of the passage: "*Aperitur quod clausum erat et cognoscitur quod latebat*," but the illustrations of this principle as understood by Augustine seem to suggest that such a development would not go much farther than the external terminology: "*Sunt enim et doctrinae religionis congruentes verborum novitates*." Whether this is enough to affirm with Batiffol that "*Augustin a compris le développement incomparablement mieux que Vincent de Lerins*" (p. 40), may reasonably be doubted.

The position taken by Augustine in the Donatist controversy and the various stages through which his doctrine on the Church as *corpus Christi mixtum* took definite shape are analyzed in detail, with the conclusion that in Augustine's thought the *Ecclesia Catholica* with its universality and unity is such by virtue of a divine design revealed in Scripture, which gives the evidence of its being the Church of God. The Pelagian controversy is treated at length in three long chapters, especially from the point of view of how the ecclesiological doctrine was affected in its fundamental principles and in its development by the theories and the conduct of Augustine and

of his opponents during the long period of that epoch-making struggle. A few pages on the authority of Augustine, "*Du danger qu'elle court et qu'elle peut faire courir*" (pp. 529 ff.), assign a high value in the history of Augustinian theology to the *Capitula* appended to the Epistle of Pope Celestinus and attributed to the Roman deacon Leo, later pope. The *Capitula* warn theologians to follow faithfully the decision of the apostolic see, disregarding if necessary even the teaching of those *inter magistros nostros* who have exceeded in certain points. Batiffol refers the phrase to Augustine, and concludes that "*la vertu du Catholicisme latin fut de modérer la passion et des admirateurs et des détracteurs d'Augustin*" (p. 531).

In his book *L'Église naissante* Mgr. Batiffol, analyzing the famous passage of Cyprian: "*Ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*," assigned to the word *principalem* the meaning 'first in authority.' But in his *Saint Augustin* Batiffol has changed his mind, and accepts the interpretation 'first in date' (p. 102). Of this conversion *in peius* A. D'Alès complains in "*La Théologie de Saint Cyprien*," Paris, 1922, which is the most recent volume of the *Bibliothèque de Théologie Historique publiée sous la direction des professeurs de théologie à l'Institut Catholique de Paris*. This Bibliothèque, which during the Modernist repression had the sad experience of seeing two of its best volumes (Turmel, *Histoire de la Théologie positive*, I, 1904; II, 1905) put on the Index, contains three other volumes by Father D'Alès: *La Théologie de Tertullien* (1905), *La Théologie de Saint Hippolyte* (1906), *L'Édit de Calliste; étude sur les origines de la pénitence chrétienne* (1914). The importance of Cyprian's theology is limited in the main to his teaching about the Church. Cyprian, remarks D'Alès, was not a creative genius, but rather a man of action, whose contribution to the metaphysics of dogma is very small, "*et ces contributions ne sont pas toujours heureuses*." But they show an intense Christian life enlightened by the brilliancy of faith and nourished by prayer. The most complete expression of this interior life is to be found in the treatise *De Dominica Oratione*, "*commentaire de la prière chrétienne par excellence*."

The famous passage of *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate* con-

taining the statement about Peter's primacy, "*primatus Petro datur*," is submitted again to a searching analysis resulting in an agreement with Dom Chapman (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1902 and following years) against Benson's *Cyprian, His Life, Times, Works*, 1897, that both redactions of the text are the work of Cyprian himself. The first is the original form, as it was written when the treatise was directed against the African schism of Felicissimus, the second redaction, with the words about Peter's primacy, represents the revision of Cyprian when he sent the same treatise to Rome in opposition to the schism of Novatian. D'Alès brings virtually no new contribution to the solution of this question, but by putting together numerous passages of Cyprian's writings which show the coherence of his general thinking about Peter with that of the discussed passage, the author enables the reader to draw his own conclusion on this point, — although, we observe, it may be not in full agreement with that of Fr. D'Alès himself: "*De ce faisceau de témoignages, il ressort incontestablement, que selon la pensée de saint Cyprien l'évêque de Rome occupe dans l'Église une position unique: héritier du siège de Pierre, fondement permanent de l'Église, centre et source de l'unité, pasteur universel et primate, dépositaire du pouvoir des clefs*" (p. 129). But after having reached such a conclusion D'Ales, as if afraid of having gone too far, takes a step backward by admitting that Cyprian's ecclesiology gives room for opposite interpretations: "*D'ailleurs sa théorie marquée au coin de circonstances particulières peut être diversement comprise selon qu' on l'aborde par tel ou tel biais*" (p. 214).

But the greatest difficulty against the admission of such a view of Cyprian's teaching as to the Roman primacy is the conduct of Cyprian himself in the famous baptismal controversy, in which he not only refused to the end to yield to the Roman decision, but used against Pope Stephen a firm and outspoken, and at times even violent, language. At this point D'Alès admits frankly that in the teaching of Cyprian there are some gaps of which he himself was not aware but which appeared clearly when his doctrine was put to the test: "*Qu'il s'agisse de l'Église, des évêques, ou du pape, on retrouve constam-*

ment chez Cyprien les mêmes affirmations avec les mêmes lacunes. . . . Mais par la force des choses ce danger devait se révéler tôt ou tard" (pp. 209-210). As a consequence Cyprian, after having paid the most eloquent homage to the Roman Church, did not draw the logical conclusions of his own principles, and this was the great mistake of his life: "*Après avoir rendu d'éloquents hommages à la foi indéfectible de l'Église romaine, après avoir même, chose plus considérable, reconnu la constitution monarchique de l'Église fondée sur Pierre, Cyprien se dérobe devant les conséquences*" (p. 200). And finally, at the end of his book, D'Alès feels the need of softening still more his tone in a brief characterization of Cyprian as "*l'homme de l'attachement indéfectible à l'Église et même, dans une large mesure, l'homme de l'attachement au principe de l'unité romaine. Mais faute d'avoir mesuré avec précision les exigences de ce principe, il contribua, pour une part, à ébranler d'une main ce qu'il édifiait de l'autre*" (p. 379).

The tendency, and we may even say the necessity, in which D'Alès finds himself of projecting into the third century the implications of a dogmatic development which is relatively recent, accounts for these hesitations and successive restrictions in his appreciation of Cyprian's ecclesiology. He even feels the need of warning us that "papal infallibility has nothing to do with the Cyprianic controversy because in the eyes of Cyprian the decision of the pope had not the character of a sentence from which there was no appeal" (p. 200), and that the pope as a private person may become a heretic: "*il pourrait arriver que le Pape quittât l'Église. Cette thèse, perdue de vue par tel théologien en rupture d'orthodoxie, est catholique et certaine.*" But, after all, he declares that in the solution of this question it is not his intention to appeal to the argument from infallibility: "*D'ailleurs nous ne la ferons pas intervenir dans la solution de la question présente*" (p. 210).

D'Herbigny on the contrary (vol. II, pp. 168-169) prefers to present Cyprian as having submitted at least partially and somewhat changed his mind: "*Mutat tamen suam sententiam Cyprianus ad obedientiam partialem. Nam ne de fide differat a Romano Pontifice admittit invaliditatem baptismi haeretici non*

pertinere ad catholicam regulam, sicut olim docuerat," but in the end agrees with D'Alès, that Cyprian had not a definite idea of the nature and the extent of the Roman primacy, and that "*praxis doctrinae priori minus cohaesit.*"

The same combination of speculative, historical, and polemical theology followed by D'Herbigny in his *De Ecclesia* is adopted by Maurice de la Taille S. J., recently appointed professor at the Gregorian University in Rome, in his imposing monograph, *Mysterium Fidei, De augustissimo Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Sacrificio atque Sacramento. Elucidationes L. In tres libros distinctae* (Paris, 1921). This book not only departs from the traditional mode of exposing the Eucharistic doctrine, by the adoption of a new arrangement of the theological material and by giving to the historical analysis a very large place, but is really a remarkable systematization of the theology of the Mass, a work that had never before been attempted in a direct and complete way. The first part deals with the Last Supper in itself and in its relations to the passion, resurrection, and glorification of Jesus (I–XV); the second with the Mass as a sacrifice (XVI–XXXV); the third with the Sacrament in its relations to the sacrifice and to redemption (XXXVI–L). From the early fathers to the great mediaeval doctors and to the more modern theologians, all the centuries, all the churches, all the theological schools and systems, are called upon by the author to bear witness to the true Catholic doctrine whether by confirming it or by being convicted of error.

From the strictly Catholic point of view, the *Mysterium Fidei* of Father de la Taille is a Eucharistic encyclopaedia which leaves little to be desired; from the scholarly point of view, apart from theological implications, it is an inexhaustible mine of historical and patristic information. Naturally these are used by the author, and very skilfully, for his apologetic and doctrinal purposes, and the historian must not forget that fact in perusing this most useful book. It is interesting also to notice that this treatise is not *ad mentem S. Thomae Aquinatis*, but on the contrary aims at including the whole tradition of the Church gathered in an orthodox unity. "*Pereant systemata, quae sunt ruina theologiae*" repeats de la Taille after

Cardinal Billot,⁴ but warns us immediately that "*aliud est systema aliud corpus doctrinae*" (p. 8).

No less interesting is the strong mystical spirit in which the whole book is written; it contributes strikingly to produce the impression that this *corpus doctrinae* has a deeper unity and a more consistent continuity than would appear in a simple dogmatic or historical exposition.

V

Catholic theology in these last years has turned in a notable way towards a mystical inspiration, and has emphasized the old conception that theology is "*scientia quaedam speculativa veritatis revelatae, sed eatenus revelatae quatenus conducirer ad finem fovendae pietatis.*" Batiffol's *Saint Augustin* is also very significant from this point of view, inasmuch as the whole ecclesiological teaching of the great African is presented as "*une mystique*" and Augustine himself as the man who "*a eu plus qu'aucun de tous les docteurs l'intuition affectueuse de la présence et de l'action de Dieu dans l'Église*" (p. 548).

Since the seventeenth century, when mystical doctrines and practices reached a high point and led to the condemnation of Molinos and Petrucci and later of Fénelon, the Catholic Church has looked with a kind of distrust at all attempts at new speculative ventures in the unstable field of mystical theology. The restoration of scholasticism has probably something to do with the present revival of interest in both the doctrinal and the practical side of mystical experience. Thomistic scholasticism with its prominent intellectualistic character is not conducive to mysticism: it is true, however, that most of the great scholastics were at the same time great mystics, but their mysticism was not a direct product of their scholastic mental habit or a derivation from the rational substratum of their theology. It was rather a kind of superstructure based on higher principles than those of their intellectual activity, and prompted by different motives; for it was founded exclusively on divine grace and divine will both as the point of departure and as the issue of the whole process. As such it differed essentially from the

mystical spirit of the Pseudo-dionysian tradition, which assumed a more definite philosophical aspect. But precisely on account of its super-rational character, mysticism in the life of the great scholastics was at the same time a reaction against and a complement of their theology. Since it appeased the craving for a more emotional element in their spiritual life and at the same time did justice to the emotional and voluntary powers which within the iron frame of an intellectualistic theology were kept in a subordinate place and restricted to a relatively unimportant rôle.

The same forces are probably at work in modern scholastic circles; " but there is no doubt that this mystical revival in Catholic theology is due also to certain specific tendencies of modern thought which are a product of the contemporary strong reaction against the positivistic trend of the second half of the nineteenth century as well as of external influences. The effects of this new wave of Catholic mysticism are already visible not only in certain new phases of ecclesiastical and monastic discipline and in a renewed intensity of liturgical life, but also in the publication of a large devotional literature and of special systematic treatises of mystical and ascetic theology, and in a very promising historical activity in the critical reconstruction of the biographies and the teaching of the prominent mystics of the various centuries."

This branch of theology is still in process of elaboration, and consequently shows much uncertainty and gives room to conflicting views on many fundamental points. Its systematization, however, will be more difficult than that of any other branch of theology, first of all because it is not so easy to define the essentials of mysticism on scriptural authority or on the authority of tradition as it is in dogmatics, and, secondly, because the individual psychological element which plays so great a part in mystical experience, is so recalcitrant to generalizations as to make extremely difficult the necessary work of classification even on a loose scientific basis. But even if such a classification is made by the methods of modern psychological research, there remains always the imponderable element of divine grace, which, coming from a source beyond the categories

of logic and causality, defies all the limitations which pertain to a system.

The tendency in many Catholic circles is to bring together all the elements belonging both to the principles of common ascetic practice and to the theories and results of high mystical experience, and to coördinate them in a broad unity, covering the whole process of interior perfection, under the general title of "theology of the spiritual life." Through this procedure what was really the proper domain of mysticism becomes only one part, and the highest, of the whole systematization: it is placed on the boundary line, where the system ceases to apply and the unknown begins. The question, however, is not one of methodical arrangement only, but of principle, that is to say of whether the mystical experience is only a gradual and more intensive realization of the life of grace to which all Christians are bound to aspire, or whether it is a new and specific stage above the ordinary practice of virtue and so reserved for those whom God has chosen for his special gifts. A survey of the various opinions in Catholic mystical circles may be found in a very valuable article of Alois Mayer, '*Mystik und Katholizismus*,' in *Die Tat*, 1921; a more methodical and systematic attempt at a classification appeared in the *Revue Apologétique* (1921) under the title '*État actuel des études mystiques*.'⁵⁷

Most of the Catholic periodicals of philosophy and religious studies publish occasional articles on topics of asceticism and mysticism, but only a few reviews have chosen this as their specific field. The two most important are *La Vie Spirituelle*, published since January 1919, by the Dominicans of the Collegium Angelicum of Rome and the *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, published by the French Jesuits since January 1920. The former has given much of its space to illustrating the teaching of Aquinas on the spiritual life in his *Secunda secundae*, and to initiating the work of systematization on Aquinas' principles. So far, however, the work has made more progress on its negative side by attempts to clear the field of prejudices and objections than in a positive and constructive direction. The program and the directing principles of this review are clearly stated by Garrigou-Lagrange.⁵⁸

The Jesuit French review shows a more eclectic spirit, and puts, as is natural, great weight on the principles and practices of the spiritual life traditional in the Society from the time of its founder. A very instructive article by J. de Guibert in the first issue (*'Les Études de théologie ascétique et mystique: comment les comprendre?'*) outlines the program of the review and insists on the insufficiency of the Thomistic data for the needs of modern mystical theology.⁶⁰ No less noteworthy is the emphasis laid upon the necessity of psychological analysis, historical research, and elaboration of the material coming from those two sources "*pour en réaliser ensuite la mise en oeuvre théologique*" (p. 19).

Although, as is obvious, the time is not ripe for a comprehensive work on ascetic and mystical theology,⁶⁰ yet there have already appeared some general treatises, especially for the use of theological students. The most popular is that of F. Naval, first published in Spanish and recently translated into Latin, *Theologiae asceticae et mysticae cursus ad usum Seminariorum, Institutorum religiosorum clericorum, necnon moderatorum animarum. Versio latina iuxta 2am ed. hisp. a I. Fernandez*, 1920. Notwithstanding all its deficiencies of method and regrettable historical gaps and its peculiarly Spanish color ⁶¹ the work of Naval is a remarkable contribution to the speculative theology of mysticism and will at least serve as a basis for discussion. In so far as concerns the method of classification and exposition of the material of ascetic and mystical theology, the schematic outline of a course published by A. Tanquerey in the *Revue* ⁶² is more coherent and as a whole preferable to the method of Naval: it remains to be seen whether Tanquerey's scheme would give the same impression when fully developed in the form of a theological treatise.

While on its speculative side mystical theology is still in search of the best path to a systematization, historical studies of asceticism and mysticism have become very prominent; articles and monographs in reviews, as well as books, continually throw new light on phases and personalities of the long mystical succession. An attempt to write the whole history of spiritual life has even been made by P. Pourrat, under the

title, *La spiritualité chrétienne*, of which two volumes have already appeared: I. *Des origines de l'Église au Moyen Âge*, 4th ed. 1920; II. *Le Moyen Âge*, 1921.⁶⁸ The author confesses that his history is only a preliminary attempt, as the time for an historical synthesis has not come, any more than for a doctrinal synthesis:

Je n'ai pas voulu tout dire. Les richesses de l'antiquité chrétienne sont considérables, l'inventaire détaillé en serait démesurément long. Faire connaître les auteurs anciens, exposer leur doctrine d'après leurs écrits, grouper et caractériser les divers enseignements ascétiques et mystiques de chacune des périodes étudiées, tel a été mon but.

With such a program it is natural that many questions of great importance, like that of the origin of asceticism and of the non-christian mystical traditions, have been only mentioned by the author, with no attempt to solve them, and that he indulges too much in gathering around specific personalities or environments (especially monastic) theories and practices of various origin and value. But the work of Pourrat is indispensable for the historian of Christian doctrine.

Among the many monographs that of Father P. Dudon S. J., *Le Quétiste espagnol Michel Molinos (1628-1696)*, Paris, 1921, is noteworthy. It embodies the results of long research in archives and libraries, with study of manuscripts and publications of which little had been known, and this has enabled the author to reconstruct the life of this famous adventurer in the mystic realm, from its obscure beginnings in the little village of Muniesa through his amazing success in Rome as a spiritual director and master of ascetics to the tragic catastrophe and Molinos' pitiful end in the prison of the Inquisition, after a secret trial the original documents of which are still buried in the secret archives of the Holy Office so that they could not be consulted by the author. He was, however, so fortunate as to discover in the Vallicelliana in Rome some extracts from the original documents, made by one of the summists of the Inquisition, from which it appears that Molinos was convicted of immoral practices indulged under the cover of mystical experiences, and likewise of heretical doctrines contained in his published Guide and more explicitly in a large number

of private letters written to correspondents from all parts of Italy and France seeking spiritual advice and mystical instruction.

Father Dudon concludes his book by the remark that self-renunciation is the whole basis of the mystical life, and prayer its nourishment. But prayer need not necessarily be contemplative: "*quand il voulut formuler, en un mot, la loi de la marche à sa suite jusqu'aux plus hauts sommets des cieux, le Christ n'indiqua pas un mode spécial de prière; il dit simplement: Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum*" (p. 270).

In these words lies a discreet allusion to a controversy that has been going on for some time among Catholic theologians regarding the value and the fitness for a more intense spiritual life of the various forms of prayer. One phase of this controversy led to a somewhat sharp exchange of views between the Benedictines, who by tradition and by the spirit of their institution are more addicted to liturgical prayer, and the Jesuits, who for similar reasons are more devoted to meditation and individual prayer, in accordance with the method outlined by Loyola in his *Spiritual Exercises*.⁴

VI

Liturgical studies have been always in great honor among the Benedictines, and it is due to their constant efforts, especially since the initiative taken by Dom Guéranger of the abbey of Solesmes, that the theory and history of liturgies has taken a prominent place in the ecclesiastical disciplines. The recent large development of the comparative study of religions has added a new interest to liturgiology, and liturgical history has become a fruitful field of research, throwing much light on the origin and early development of Christianity, and still more on the history of dogma. Among the many publications on liturgical problems which have appeared in these last years, the two collections started by initiative of the Benedictines of the Abbey of Maria Laach, deserve special mention, *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen* and *Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen*,

both under the direction of Dom K. Mohlberg of the same abbey and Dr. A. Rucker of the University of Breslau. In the *Quellen* was published first (1918) by Dom Mohlberg the Gelasian Sacramentary, *Das frankische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung: St. Galler Sakramentarforschungen I*. The Codex Sangallensis No. 348 had already been used, especially by Wilson (*The Gelasian Sacramentary, Oxford, 1894*), but it is now published in its integrity.⁶⁵ Historically more important is the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary, of which in the same collection H. Lietzmann gives a new edition (*Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar, 1921*). Lietzmann attempts the reconstruction of the original text sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne. The chief materials for this are the manuscript of Cambrai No. 159, of early ninth century, supposed to come directly from the *authenticum* kept at that time in the imperial library of Aquigrana, and the Vatican Ottob. 313, also of the ninth century. The importance of such a reconstruction is obvious, for it will make it possible to follow more closely the process of reworking which the Sacramentary suffered in the Gallican churches before it was brought back to Rome, where in its turn it influenced the local liturgy by introducing practices and peculiarities of Gallican origin. It will be of great use also in tracing the text of the Roman pre-hadrianic Liber Sacramentorum, now represented by the Sacramentarium Gelasianum, which, however, being not older than the late seventh or early eighth century, and representing also a Gallican redaction, is far from reliable, and by the so-called Sacramentarium Leonianum, which in a fragmentary state exists in only one manuscript (Verona, Library of the Chapter), and evidently does not contain an official text but simply a collection of prayers and masses for private purposes, taken from various sources and compiled, it would seem, after the time of Gregory the Great.⁶⁶

In the *Forschungen*, Dom Mohlberg has published a short but accurate introduction to liturgical studies, *Ziele und Aufgaben der liturgiegeschichtlichen Forschung, 1919*, with an historical outline of their various phases and a very useful

bibliography of sources and monographs. Of peculiar importance for the history of early Christianity as well as of the cults of the hellenistic period are the two substantial monographs of Professor Franz J. Dolger of Münster, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze*, 1919, and *Sol Salutis, Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum*, 1920.

It cannot be denied that theological studies in the Catholic Church are in a period of remarkable activity, less conspicuous in the field of speculation than in that of historical reconstruction, but no less significant. While in the main the conservative and polemical tendency is strong in both, at the same time they show unmistakably a feeling of unrest and anxiety on account of the difficult situation caused for theology by modern science. The need of a new apologetic theology with sympathetic understanding and frank respect for scientific progress is badly felt, but the scientific field has grown so large, and requires so much specialization, that no theologian can even think of covering it with such a detailed analysis as would make possible the search for an apologetic synthesis. History, on the contrary, appears more accessible; it leaves more room for differences of opinion, and is not recalcitrant to brilliant generalizations carrying more or less conviction according to the literary and artistic skill of the historian. Between high theological speculation with its iron bars and its metaphysical depths on one side and the highly specialized research of the experimental sciences on the other, history offers to many a line of less resistance. That may explain why writers of history are many, though historians are few. But the average theologian who has read his Aquinas in a Synopsis *ad mentem S. Thomae* is perfectly satisfied, and enjoys for the rest of his life the harmless exercise of deducing syllogistically pious corollaries from his axiomatic premises without concerning himself with what experience has to say about his conclusions.

It is not so with those who possess wings for flight and the right training for speculation: sooner or later they come to the realization that theology is not a game of chess with nothing

at stake, but carries with it life or death for such a specific form of higher religion as is Catholicism. And they feel the call of the time, and do not hide their anxiety to understand and to be understood. Where there is struggle there is life: *Qui descendunt mare in navibus facientes operationem in aquis multis ipsi viderunt opera Domini et mirabilia eius in profundo* (Ps. 106, 28).

NOTES

1. "*Depuis trois siècles environ, le travail purement scholastique n'a produit aucun chef-d'œuvre saillant*," J. Bellamy, *La Théologie Catholique au XIX^e siècle*, 2d ed., Paris, 1904, p. 188. This book is far from being a complete and satisfactory history of Catholic theology in the last century. It is rather a series of detached chapters covering special phases of the development. This is partly due to the death of the author before the book was finished, partly to the lack of more complete information, and partly also to the state of uncertainty and hesitation in theological circles during the first years of the twentieth century.

2. For the influence of Descartes on the theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see: K. Werner, *Geschichte der katholischen Theologie. Seit dem Tridentiner Concil bis zum Gegenwart*, München, 1866, and G. Saitta, *Le origini del Neo-Tomismo*, Bari, 1912, cap. II, pp. 17 ff.

3. On Malebranche see: Ollé-Laprune, *La philosophie de Malebranche*, Paris, 1870, and Joly, *Malebranche*, in the series entitled *Les Grands Philosophes*, Paris, 1901.

4. In France the greater part of the clergy were Gallicans, and the textbooks on theology were that of Bailly (openly Jansenist) and the so-called *Théologie de Toulouse* (no less Jansenist and Gallican). In Germany, Austria, and Northern Italy the theological seminaries instituted by Joseph II at Vienna, Fribourg, Pesth, Pavia, and Louvain were centres of incredulity: "*L'enseignement dogmatique et exégétique y était imprégné de rationalisme. . . . Les professeurs d'histoire enseignaient d'après les manuels de leurs collègues protestants et le droit canonique n'était qu'une machine de guerre destinée à battre en brèche l'autorité de la Papauté*," Kannengieser, *Les origines du vieux catholicisme*, Paris, 1900, p. 63; see Bellamy, *op. cit.*, chap. I.

5. *Réflexions sur l'état de l'Eglise en France pendant le dix-huitième siècle et sa situation actuelle*, Paris, 1808.

6. Expositions and refutations of Traditionalism are to be found in almost all modern treatises on Catholic dogmatic theology, for instance in Pohle-Preuss, *God, his Knowability, Essence, and Attributes*, 2d ed., St. Louis, Mo., 1914, pp. 44 ff. A more complete exposition of the Catholic point of view in J. V. Bainvel, *De Magisterio vivo et Traditione*, Paris, 1906. An exhaustive historical treatment of Traditionalism in the nineteenth century is still lacking.

7. On Ubaghs see Bellamy, *op. cit.*, chap II, pp. 29 ff., and *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques*, 1876, XXXIV, pp. 541-552.

8. On German Catholic theology (Hermes, Günther, and the school of Tübingen) see the very important study of Edmond Vermeil, *Jean-Adam Möhler et l'école Catholique de Tubingue (1815-1840). Étude sur la théologie romantique en Wurtemberg et les origines germaniques du modernisme*, Paris, 1913. Also Saitta, *op. cit.*, cap. IV, V, and G. Goyau, *L'Allemagne religieuse: Le Catholicisme (1800-1848)*, II, Paris, 1905. By the same author also: *Möhler*, in the collection *La Pensée Chrétienne*, Paris, 1905.

9. Drey, *Kurze Einleitung in das Studium der Theologie, mit Rücksicht auf den wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt und das katholische System*, Tübingen, 1819, p. 5. Vermeil, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

10. The controversy between Gioberti and Rosmini has been presented in detail by G. Saitta in his book, *Il pensiero di Vincenzo Gioberti*, Messina, 1917, part II, chap. III, pp. 153-205. For the theological implications of Gioberti's system see in the same book, part I, chaps. III, IV, and passim. On Rosmini there is a large literature; see Sheldon, 'The Teaching of Rosmini' in *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 1897, VIII; Orsano, *Rosmini*, in *Biblioteca pedagogica*, Rome, 1908; Palhories, *Rosmini*, in *Les Grands Philosophes*, Paris, 1908. The influence of Rosmini was very strong among a number of French and Belgian theologians and especially among the Sulpicians, as appears from the diary of the famous Père Hyacinthe Loyson in Houtin, *Le Père Hyacinthe dans l'Eglise Romaine (1827-1869)*, Paris, 1920. In 1851 Father Hyacinth writes as follows: "*Je trouvais dans l'Ontologisme la satisfaction de mon intelligence en même temps que l'aliment de mon cœur. L'Ontologisme unit le rationalisme le plus hardi au mysticisme le plus tendre, et il est pour moi une religion en même temps qu'une philosophie*" p. 64. The theological errors of Rosmini are exposed in *Rosminianarum Propositionum trutina theologica*, Rome, 1892, attributed to Cardinal Mazzella, against whom G. Morando wrote his *Esame critico delle XL Proposizioni Rosminiane condannate dalla S. R. U. Inquisizione*, Milan, 1905.

11. The revival of Scholasticism is usually connected with the name of Sanseverino of Naples and later with those of Liberatore, also from Naples, Kleutgen from Germany, Grandclaude from France, and others. In several articles in the *Rivista Neo-scolastica* Dr. Masnovo has directed attention to an earlier group of scholastics from which Italian neo-scholasticism takes its beginning. It seems that a Spanish Jesuit exiled from Spain in 1767 found a refuge in Piacenza and taught there Thomistic philosophy. His disciple and successor Bozzetti left in manuscript a course of scholasticism which in the judgment of Dr. Masnovo is very remarkable. His disciples Serafino and Domenico Sordi, two brothers who later entered the Society of Jesus, were fervent Thomists, and it was due to them that a movement started within the Society in favor of a scholastic restoration. See, in the *Rivista*, 1910, vol. II, 'Nuovi contributi alla storia del Neo-tomismo,' pp. 69 ff., and 1920, vol. XII, pp. 42-55.

12. Historical studies on Aquinas have become very prominent in the last thirty years. The works of Mandonnet, *Des écrits authentiques de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, 2d ed., Fribourg, 1910, of Michelitsch, *Thomaschriften: Untersuchungen und die Schriften Thomas' v. Aquino*, Graz, 1911, vol. I, are of capital importance. A complete bibliography is to be found in Mandonnet et Destrez, *Bibliographie Thomiste*, first volume of a *Bibliothèque Thomiste*, Le Saulchoir (Belgium), 1921, published by the Dominicans of the *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*. It contains an introduction summarizing the results of critical studies on the life and writings of Aquinas. The bibliography is exhaustive, but no attempt is made at a critical discrimination among the works listed.

13. In periodical literature the integralist Thomistic school is represented by three Jesuit reviews, *La Civiltà Cattolica* of Rome, *Les Etudes* of Paris, and *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*. These periodicals, although they do not have the character of theological reviews, frequently publish articles on philosophical theological questions, mostly with polemical purpose. By the Jesuits of

the University of Innsbrück is published the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, and by those of the Gregorian University of Rome the *Gregorianum* (since 1920). The *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie* founded in 1886 by E. Commer, who acquired some notoriety in connection with the *affaire Schell*, has several times changed its theological compass, but as a whole it may be fairly ranged among the most conservative theological reviews. The Dominicans publish the Thomistic reviews, *La Ciencia Tomista* of Madrid, *La Revue Thomiste* of Paris, and the *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* of Belgium. On the condition of theological studies and publications in the various countries may be consulted A. Vacant et E. Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, Paris, of which there have already appeared six volumes, as far as the letter H.

14. The most important reviews of scholastic philosophy are the *Revue Néo-scholastique* of Louvain, the *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-scholastica* of Milan, and the *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* of Fulda.

15. *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-scholastica*, 1909, p. 297.

16. A complete bibliography of modern Catholic theology is to be found in H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Literarius Theologiae Catholicae; Aetas recens, Pars II theologos complectens novissimos. Ab anno 1870-1910*, ed. 3, Innsbrück, 1913. For the years since 1910 see the *Bulletin de Théologie spéculative*, which is to be found in each volume of the *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* and in other theological reviews. Most of the textbooks on dogmatic theology have appeared in Germany, and a number of them are written in German. For a list and criticism of many of them see H. Kihn, *Encyclopädie und Methodologie der Theologie*, Freiburg, 1892, pp. 412-416.

17. Adam Tanquerey, *Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae ad mentem S. Thomae Aquinatis hodiernis moribus accommodata*, 11th ed., 1907.

18. Joseph Pohle, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*. English translation by Arthur Preuss in a series of twelve volumes under the general title, *The Pohle-Preuss Series of Dogmatic Text-books*, St. Louis, Mo., 1914.

19. Tanquerey, *De Vera Religione, de Ecclesia, de Fontibus Theologicis*, p. 111.

20. The theological treatises of Cardinal Billot are the following: *De Verbo Incarnato*, ed. 4, 1905; *De Ecclesia Christi*, ed. 3, 1909; *De Deo Uno et Trino*, ed. 4, 1909; *De Ecclesiae Sacramentis*, ed. 4, 1907; *De Virtutibus infusis*, ed. 2, 1905; *Disquisitio de natura et ratione peccati personalis*, ed. 3, 1908; *De inspiratione Sacrae Scripturae*, ed. 2, *Quaestiones de Novissimis*, ed. 3, *De immutabilitate Traditionis contra novam haeresim evolutionismi*, ed. 2, 1907; *De Gratia Christi et libero hominis arbitrio, Pars I*, 1908.

21. On these charges against Billot's Thomism, see Bellamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-156.

22. A history of the variations of Catholic scholars in biblical criticism is to be found in the two volumes of Albert Houtin, *La Question biblique au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1902, and *La Question biblique au XXe siècle*, Paris, 1906. A survey of the points of Catholic doctrine especially affected by biblical and historical criticism in *Programme of Modernism* (English transl.), 1908; and in Tyrrell's *Mediaevalism*, 1909.

23. "Au milieu du XIXe siècle le P. Perrone enseignait au Collège romain [Gregorian University] que les exégètes catholiques devaient se soucier de la

critique juste ce qu'il fallait pour défendre le dogme. Au commencement du XXe siècle un professeur de la même institution disait fièrement à l'un de ses collègues: Il y a vingt ans que j'enseigne: mes élèves ignorent qu'il y ait une question biblique," Houtin, *op. cit.*, p. 198. This professor was Billot, as appears from Mgr. Touchet, *Lettre sur l'enseignement aux séminaristes*, 1903, quoted by Houtin.

24. The insufficiency of modern scholasticism to offer a sound basis for apologetics was one of the favorite topics of the Catholic anti-scholastics. See, for instance, E. Buonaiuti, 'Il Neo-Tomismo,' in *Rivista di Studi religiosi*, 1904, pp. 489-512; Tyrrell, *Lex Orandi*, London, 1904, Introduction; and Maurice Blondel, 'Histoire et dogme: les lacunes philosophiques de l'extèye moderne,' in *Quinzaine*, 1904.

25. In France the pontifical wishes about the restoration of scholasticism were disregarded by a small group of Catholic philosophers, especially Oratorians, among whom the traditions of Malebranche and the more recent ones of Newman and Gratry were always alive, together with a strong dislike of scholasticism in all its forms. Laberthonnière continued this tradition and contributed frequently to the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, of which he was the editor for many years. In the same direction worked a group of laymen of the school of Ollé-Laprune, whose disciple was Maurice Blondel, the most original thinker of the whole group. Of the many writings of Blondel the most important is *L'Action. Essai d'une critique de la vie et d'une science de la pratique*, Paris, 1893. On the apologetic motive of his philosophy see his articles: 'Les exigences de la pensée contemporaine en matière d'apoloétique et la méthode de la philosophie dans l'étude du problème religieux,' in *Annales*, 1895-1896. On this Catholic neo-kantian school, see Albert Leclère, 'Le mouvement catholique kantien en France à l'heure présente,' in *Kantstudien*, Bd. VII, 1902; M. Hébert, *L'évolution de la foi catholique*, Paris, 1905; and E. Ménégoz, 'Le fidéisme et la notion de la foi,' in *Revue de Théologie et de Questions religieuses*, January 1905.

26. *Annales*, 1896, p. 600.

27. *L'Action*, p. 358.

28. *Lettre à l'Univers*, March 1, 1907.

29. Catholic apologetics still clings, and probably will for ever do so, to the old scheme, which may be presented as follows: Reason proves the existence of God; this God may reveal himself; history proves the fact of revelation, it proves also the authenticity of the Scripture and the authority of the Church; Catholicism is therefore founded on a rational basis which is truly scientific. See Buonaiuti, 'La Filosofia dell' Azione,' in *Rivista di Studi religiosi*, 1905, p. 228.

30. On these attacks, see H. Schell, *Selbstersetzung des Christenthums und die Religion der Zukunft*, 2d ed., Berlin, 1874. Still more violent were the attacks of Paulsen, *System der Ethik mit einem Umriss der Staats- und Gesellschaftslehre*, 4th ed., Berlin, 1894, against Catholic religious absolutism, and *Philosophia militans: gegen Klerikalismus und Naturalismus*, Berlin, 1901, against superstition, and casuistry as the logical products of a religion based on external authority.

31. Schell inaugurated his literary career as a follower of the Aristotelian-Thomistic school with his book, *Die Einheit des Seelenlebens aus den Prinzipien*

der aristotelischen Philosophie, 1873. His study on the trinity, *Das Wirken des dreieinigen Gottes*, 1885, shows him still clinging to the Thomistic tradition. But the first two volumes of his *Katholische Dogmatik*, Paderborn, 1892-1893, reveal that he had already outgrown scholasticism, as appeared more clearly in the last two volumes of the same work, and much more in his great apologetic book, *Die göttliche Wahrheit des Christenthums*, 1895, and the two small books, *Der Katholicismus als Princip des Fortschritts*, 1897, *Die neue Zeit und der alte Glaube*, 1898, in which his denunciation of scholasticism as the cause of the decay of Catholic theology, and of ecclesiastical bureaucracy as the cause of all the evils of the Church, is very outspoken.

32. Schell submitted to the decree and kept silent till his death, May 31, 1906. But his disciples and friends fought for him, trying to defend his orthodoxy. A series of harsh polemic discussions followed his death, and *l'affaire Schell* became one of the thorns of German Catholicism for many years. For its various phases, down to 1907, see S. Minocchi, '*La Crisi odierna del Cattolismo in Germania*,' in *Studi religiosi*, 1907, pp. 491-538.

33. English translation under the title *Scholasticism Old and New*, 1910, p. 191. Professor De Wulf goes even farther than that by affirming: "The new Scholasticism is not a theology; the former might be entirely renewed while the latter remained quite stationary and uninfluenced, or vice versa. Indeed we are just now witnesses to a revolution in theology; but the very remarkable controversies of modern times upon biblical criticism and the inspiration of the Scriptures have little to do with philosophy" (p. 190). Fortunately for himself Professor De Wulf is not a theologian and not being such is not obliged to share the convictions of Pius X.

34. De Wulf has made noteworthy efforts to popularize his synthesis among students of philosophy by insisting on it in books and reviews, in lectures and debates in philosophical congresses; see for instance his article '*Western Philosophy and Theology in the Thirteenth Century*,' published in this REVIEW, October 1918, pp. 409-432. But he does not seem to have gained many followers outside of some scholastic circles. A radical criticism of his synthesis was published by Professor G. Gentile in *Critica*, 1905 (reprinted in his volume *Il Modernismo e i rapporti tra religione e filosofia*, 1909), to which De Wulf replied with an article '*Scolastica vecchia e nuova*' in the same *Critica* in 1911, provoking new remarks by Gentile, '*La Scolastica ed il Prof. De Wulf*,' July 1911. The question was taken up again by a former disciple of De Wulf, Bruno Nardi, '*Fatti e Commenti: Scolastica vecchia e nuova*,' in *Rivista di Filosofia neo-scolastica*, 1911, vol. III, 2, pp. 555-562, who concluded against De Wulf. See also De Ruggero, *La Filosofia contemporanea*, 2d ed., 1920, vol. I, pp. 202-204 (English translation).

35. *L'action intellectuelle et politique de Léon XIII*, Paris, 1902, p. 49.

36. *Scholasticism Old and New*, p. 168.

37. *Revue Thomiste*, 1909, p. 5; see also 1905, pp. 8-16.

38. On the question of Integralism vs. Syndicalism which embittered the last years of Pius X's pontificate see 'From Leo XIII to Benedict XV,' in *American Journal of Theology*, April 1917.

39. Wladimirus Ledochowski, praepositus generalis S. J., *De doctrina S. Thomae magis magisque fovenda*, Curiae Rhaetorum, 1917. "The Jesuits," says this letter, "are not free to follow any doctrine received in the Church,

but according to their constitution they must regard Aquinas as their master." As a consequence they are not allowed to differ even slightly from Aquinas "in praecipuis eius doctrinae capitibus et quae tanquam fundamentum sunt aliorum plurimorum." These primary points are those concerning the theory of knowledge, the criterion of truth, and so on. As a rule, even in secondary questions, they must follow Aquinas: "*Filii Societatis ne in secundariis quaestionibus quidem a clara et certa sententia S. Thomae non nisi gravate admodum et rarissime discedere licet.*"

40. In France neo-scholasticism has almost no representatives, in Germany very few. "It seems improbable that a Thomistic revival will acquire considerable vigor of expansion in a real German environment. Under present conditions it seems that the resistance is too great to be overcome, and that the general situation is too unfavorable. The strongest obstacle that the revival of the great metaphysical tradition encounters in France is a complex of ignorance and of prejudices inherited from the spirit of Cartesianism; that is a negative obstacle relatively easy to remove. But in Germany it has against it a whole intellectual formation opposed directly to Thomistic realism, and which is derived from Kantian idealism and from the presumption of revolving things only around the human mind." J. Maritain, '*Lo Stato attuale della Filosofia tedesca*,' in *Rivista di Filosofia neo-scolastica*, 1921, p. 318.

41. On theological studies in Louvain, see Bellamy: "*Au total aucun nom saillant n'émerge qui résume et incarne en lui un mouvement d'idées remarquable*," *op. cit.*, p. 178.

42. J. B. Hogan, *Clerical Studies*, 2d ed., Boston, 1905.

43. *Études*, vol. 161, p. 138.

44. The article of Perrin is written in a rather sarcastic mood which somewhat diminishes its importance. But if we may not take the writer seriously when he says that Billot's article "*pourrait être intitulé Le Massacre des théologiens*," there is no room for doubting that his historical survey of the problem is exact and exhaustive.

45. Perrin directs attention to the importance played from Alexander of Hales to Aquinas and his followers by the received axiom: "*Facienti quod in se est Deus non denegat gratiam*," which was adopted by the theologians who ignored its Abelardian origin, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-365.

46. The bull *Auctorem Fidei* against the Synod of Pistoia.

47. "*Parmi les dogmes de l'Eglise il n'en est peut-être pas un . . . qui a été à ce point défiguré et travesti par certain théologiens appartenant pour la plus part à l'époque de décadence que fut le dix-huitième siècle.*" By considering original sin as belonging to the same class of personal sin these theologians made of this dogma "*un amas de contradictions flagrantes, qu'en vérité aucune explication n'a pu, ne peut, et ne pourra à jamais faire disparaître*" (*Études*, vol. 162, p. 132).

48. An historical survey of the general question was made by Caperan, *Le Problème du salut des infidèles*, Paris, 1912. Billot mentions this book with great praise, while in the Theological Bulletin of the *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, vol. VII, 1913, p. 795, it is judged a worthless piece of work. Probably the Dominicans of the *Revue* are nearer the truth

than Cardinal Billot. But from the point of view of speculative theology little or nothing has been said on this particular point: "*Nous arrivons à une question qui n'a été ni débattue, ni examinée, ni même envisagée, autant du moins qu'on le peut conjecturer de la lecture de leurs écrits, par les maîtres de la théologie.*" *Études*, vol. 165, p. 515.

49. In Boetium de Trinitate, Q. 1, a. 3 ad 6um.

50. De natura deorum I, 17.

51. In primam partem Summas II, 1, p. 34, Venice, 1594.

52. "*Ad legem naturalem pertinent primo quidem quaedam praecepta communissima quae sunt omnibus nota. . . . Quantum ergo ad illa principia communia lex naturalis nullo modo potest a cordibus hominum deleri in universali.*" Summa Theol. I, II, 94, 6.

53. Arnaud, *Dénonciation du péché philosophique*, in *Oeuvres*, tom. XXXI.

54. Billot, *De Sacramentis*, I, p. 426.

55. Very significant on this point is a letter of Emilio Chiochetti, published in the *Rivista di Filosofia neo-scolastica*, 1917, in which the contrast between the aridity of scholastic culture and the great mystical tradition of the fathers is pointed out in a striking poetical mood rather unusual in modern scholastic circles (pp. 429-431).

56. The bibliography of ascetic and mystical theology is to be found scattered in various publications. Most of the important works are classified in the *Nomenclator* of Hurter under the various sections *Theologia practica*, *ascetica*, *mystica*, in the catalogues of writers belonging to the various religious orders, and in the bulletins of theological and philosophical periodicals, especially those of the *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*. A general repertory is still desired.

57. The contents of the article is as follows: 1. *Le mouvement des études mystiques. Le groupe Térésien.* 2. *Groupe ascético-mystique.* 3. *Groupe Dominicain.* 4. *Synthèse philosophico-mystique du Père Maréchal.* 5. *Synthèse théologico-mystique du Père de la Taille.* 6. *Problèmes actuels et questions de méthode par le Père de Guibert.* See also the important article of Garrigou-Lagrange, '*Le problème mystique actuel et les questions de méthode*,' in *Vie Spirituelle*, vol. V, pp. 459-480.

58. "*Il faut unir les deux méthodes: inductive et déductive, analytique et synthétique . . . telle est, croyons nous, la vraie méthode de la théologie ascétique et mystique.*" *Vie Spirituelle*, 1919, p. 18.

59. "*Saint Thomas fait ce travail documentaire en se servant des procédés de recherche historique tels qu'ils étaient en usage de son temps, tandis qu'aujourd'hui ces procédés se sont immensément développés et perfectionnés.*" *Revue*, p. 16.

60. The terminology itself is still in a period of tentative definitions. To the urgent need of an understanding among theologians about the value of the terms of mystical theology attention has recently been directed by Garrigou-Lagrange (*Vie Spirituelle*, November 1921) who points out that not even such general and fundamental terms as '*contemplatio acquisita*,' '*contemplatio infusa*,' are taken in the same meaning by the various modern writers on asceticism. This necessity for methodical purposes of a series of definitions is recognized by J. Guibert (*Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, April 1922), who endeavors to begin the work by submitting certain defi-

nitions for debate: "*Trois définitions de théologie mystique: 1, Contemplation acquise et infuse; 2, L'ordinaire et l'extraordinaire dans la voie de la sainteté; 3, Appel éloigné ou prochain, suffisant ou efficace.*"

61. See the long review of this work by J. Guibert in *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 1920, pp. 177-182.

62. A. Tanquerey, '*Un plan de théologie ascétique et mystique,*' *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*; January 1921, pp. 22-36. This tentative plan aims only at providing a definite basis for discussion among theologians of a plan of ascetic theology, "*qui soit assez compréhensif pour embrasser toutes les questions de spiritualité, assez logique pour aller du plus connu au moins connu, assez psychologique pour suivre pas à pas les différentes étapes qui conduisent à la perfection*" (p. 22).

63. The only general history of Christian asceticism is that of the Protestant Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*, 1897, supplemented by the same author in his *Tugendlehre des Christentums geschichtlich dargestellt*, 1904. But both deal primarily with the external and institutional side of the history of asceticism.

64. The Benedictine Dom Festugière in his book, *La Liturgie Chrétienne*, 1913, made a strong indictment of the Jesuit cherished tradition. According to him, (a) Loyola in formulating his spiritual method took his inspiration from Protestant individualism and also from certain elements of Mohammedan Sufism, adapting both to the orthodox spirit of his teaching. The spiritual formation of Loyola's followers has been carried on in this individualistic spirit. (b) The method of meditation and ascetic practice introduced by Loyola broke the traditional method of private and public prayers in the Church: his is a military method alien to the old liturgical method. (c) This new method developed a strong sense of devotion to the Church and a high ideal of Christian life in the individual, but at the same time diminished the traditional value and importance of the liturgical life in the Church. (d) This depreciation of the liturgical life produced, and is still producing, a diminution in the idea of the value of the hierarchy and of the entire organization of the Church. Against all these assumptions the Jesuit *Civiltà Cattolica* of Rome protested vigorously in a series of sharp articles appearing in volumes III and IV of the year 1914.

65. No less important than the text of St. Gall is that of Angoulême, which has now been published by Dom P. Gagin, *Le Sacramentaire gélasien d'Angoulême, publié par la Société hist. et archéol. de la Charente*, 1918. A complete edition of the Gelasian Sacramentaries of the eighth century has been announced by the Benedictines of Farnborough in their collection, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, but has not appeared as yet.

66. On the interrelations between the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries in Carolingian times, see the recent article of M. Andrieu, '*À propos de quelques sacramentaires récemment édités,*' in *Revue des Sciences religieuses* (University of Strasbourg), April 1922, pp. 190-210.

NOTES

TEKNONYMY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The term teknonymy is applied to the custom of naming a man after his son. It is unusual in Western Europe, where the name received at birth is rarely changed, but as a practice of primitive peoples it has long been known to anthropologists. Indeed the term is of anthropological devising, apparently invented by Tylor, the father of the craft, and duly noted in Sir James Frazer's great repertorium of anthropological data, *The Golden Bough*. But neither Frazer nor Tylor seems to have referred to the teknonymy of a civilized people, the Arabs, who have developed the system as fully as could well be done. Almost every Arab has a personal or direct name, the *ism*, and an indirect one, or surname, taken from his child, the *kunyah*. He may have a number of other names as well, derived from his tribe, his rank, a sobriquet, a common pseudonym, or a patronymic. But it is the name and *kunyah* that most closely correspond to the given, or Christian, name and the surname of Western Europe. This *kunyah* contains the *Abu*, 'father,' indispensable to all Western writers who seek to establish an oriental background for their stories, culminating in the literally preposterous 'Abou Ben Adhém' of Leigh Hunt's famous poem. As a matter of fact *kunyah* may mean 'patronymic,' but the *kunyah* that contains *Abu*, 'father of', is so much the most common that ordinarily, when the word *kunyah* is used, we think of the teknonymic system rather than the other.

The *kunyah* is the name of courtesy. No one but intimates or uninstructed would use the direct name. If a grown man has the misfortune to be childless, he is addressed as *Abu Abdullah*. In some cases the *kunyah* entirely displaces the proper name, even for men of capital importance. For example, the actual name of the first khalifa is quite unknown, even to tradition. He is simply *Abu Bakr*, 'Father of the Maiden,' that is, father of that one of Mohammed's wives who was not a widow when she married the prophet.

The origin and significance of the custom cannot be fully discussed here. Tylor and Frazer connect it, as they could hardly fail to do, with taboo and with marriage institutions. Doubtless a name-taboo of some sort is at the bottom of it. But the Arabs have a conscious, and, it must be confessed, absurdly simple rationale for it.

They assume that the *kunyah* is a mark of honor designed to indicate a man's social affiliation, whereby he is addressed as the head of a house and the founder of a family; all this is implied in *Abu*.

It may be noted at this point that most of the instances of teknonymy which Tylor and Frazer actually give are from Africa and Asia, and from points very close to, or quite within, regions of Mohammedan influence. While wishing to give full weight to the persistency of local customs in names, I do not think the possibility of influence from neighboring Arabic-speaking (or partially Arabic-speaking) centres has been sufficiently taken into account.¹

Sporadic instances of something like teknonymy occur in places where it certainly did not prevail as a custom. So on two occasions in the *Iliad* (ii, 260; iv, 354) Odysseus refers to himself as "Father of Telemachus." However, this may have been a personal whimsy of the most personal and whimsical of heroes.

Teknonymy is distinctly an Arab and not a general Semitic custom. Babylonian and Aramaic names are for the most part composite names of various origin; frequently enough they are patronymics, but, except perhaps in Ethiopic, a *kunyah* in the restricted sense does not occur, certainly is not a regular portion of the name.

Now in the Old Testament the names are in general made on the Babylonian system. Patronymics are frequent and most names are theophorous, — as are also most Egyptian names. In a country lying, as Palestine does, directly between the Egyptian and Mesopotamian culture-areas, this is to be expected. But Palestine, continuous as was the development of its civilization, frequently suffered in historic times from invasions of Bedouin. The Old Testament is the literature of a group which professed to be descended from one of the more recent waves of Bedouin invaders. The modern counterparts of the Bedouin have an elaborate teknonymy, which goes through their entire literature as far as we can trace it. I wish in the present paper to suggest that we may find traces of teknonymy among those older Arabs, or quasi-arabs, whom we call Hebrews.

The thirtieth chapter of Proverbs contains "the words of Agur b. Yakeh." The collection in its present form is later than the rest of Proverbs, and has no internal bond with anything that goes before or after it. Agur speaks of the limitation of man's knowledge on mat-

¹ In Steinmetz's *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, II, 223 seq. 'Teknonomie' is fully discussed, and, as might be supposed, brought into connection with the matriarchate. The presence of teknonymy among the Arabs is adverted to, but is treated as though it were a local custom in a restricted part of Syria.

ters concerning God. "Who hath ascended up into heaven or descended? Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? Who hath bound the waters in a garment? . . . What is his name, and what is his son's name, if thou knowest?" מַה שְׁמוֹ וּמַה שֵׁם בְּנוֹ. This is generally taken to be an announcement of the inscrutability of God, somewhat parallel to the Yahveh speeches in Job. Whether that is so or not — and the meaning that would be first suggested is, I think, a very different one — the ordinary interpretation of the passage as it appears in current commentaries is unsatisfactory. If, however, the *kunyah* was known to the Hebrews, the passage at once becomes intelligible. It is as though Agur asked, 'What is his name and surname?' If he is speaking of God, his tone is that of stern mockery of those who might profess to know the unknowable. If he is simply asserting that an individual who could really know the structure of the world must have direct acquaintance with all its phenomena, he ends by asking, 'Is there such a person? If you know him, pray give me his full name.'

Who is this Agur? The text immediately after his name contains a word which might be a place-name, Massa, and if so, Agur comes from the southern desert, Edom, and is not a Canaanite but a tribesman of the desert. That he is famous for wisdom is in keeping with the traditional repute of Edomites: Job came from Uz, and Teman was thick with wise men. The name Agur does not occur elsewhere in the Bible. It has a foreign ring.

Those who first wrote and read the collection of Agur understood the words, I think, in the way I have suggested. That might simply mean that they knew that the Edomites had such a custom, just as we know the Arabs have it. But we may remember that by a persistent tradition Edom — although in fact hostile — was a close kinsman of Israel, while the Canaanites among whom Israel lived and whose culture it absorbed were by an equally strong tradition originally utter aliens. Can we find, in records that Israelites regarded as indubitably theirs, traces of the practice we are considering?

In the story of Noah in Genesis 9, 18 the statement is made, "And the sons of Noah that went forth from the ark were Shem and Ham and Japheth, and Ham is the father of Canaan." And in verse 22 of the same chapter, Ham is again called 'Father of Canaan' אֲבִי כְנַעַן. The passage is a part of the Yahvist document, the oldest of the component parts of the hexateuch, and contains fragments of a still older poem cursing Canaan. The usual explanation is that the older tradition gave the names of the three sons of Noah as Shem, Japheth,

and Canaan, and that a reviser inserted 'Ham the father of' before the name of Canaan in order to harmonize this tradition with the other according to which the three sons were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. That certainly is possible. But we do not know in its entirety the poem quoted, and the hypothesis of a reviser to make this insertion is unnecessary if we assume that in legends or ballads known to the Yahvist the ancient patriarch appeared with name and surname, *ism* and *kunyah*, Ham Abi C'naan.

Again in Genesis 11, 29 — a Yahvist passage — Abraham's niece and sister-in-law is called "Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah and Iscah." Iscah is unknown elsewhere, but Milcah is frequently mentioned and seems to be the eponymous mother of an important clan or tribe. What shall be said of such a phrase as "Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah," unless Father-of-Milcah (*Abi Milcah*) was practically Haran's surname, his *kunyah*? This would be in complete accordance with Arabic custom, where such an expression as Ismail ibn Abu-Ismail, is of frequent occurrence, although in it the actual name of Ismail's father is not mentioned at all.

So, too, in Genesis 30, 19 and 34, 6 the Canaanite prince referred to is called *Hamor Abi Sh'chem*, Hamor the father of Shechem. That same expression occurs in Judges 9, 28, in what is very likely a fragment of an old ballad or epic.

There are other cases which might be cited, *Kemuel Abi Aram* in Genesis 22, 21, *Arba Abi Anak*, Joshua 15, 13, *Machir Abi Gilead*, Joshua 17, 1; 1 Chronicles 2, 21-23. In 1 Samuel 14, 51 we have an expression like an Arabic name with a double *kunyah*, a very common case, *Ner Abi Abner ben Abiel* — the *Abi kunyah*, we may notice, coming first, as it would in Arabic.

Now the ordinary use of the *kunyah* in Arabic is not merely to denote physical paternity. It is the source of nicknames, both jocular and respectful. A man may be called 'Father of spectacles,' 'Father of strength,' 'Father of cunning.' More rarely 'Mother,' 'Sister,' or 'Brother' may be so used. Animals may be similarly honored. Indeed 'father of ravening' is a constant name for the lion, 'father of Job' (i.e. 'patience') for the camel. These terms of relationship mean merely that the particular quality is possessed in a striking degree by the person or animal mentioned. And this is not a late development but apparently is as old as anything we have of Arabic literature. In Hebrew there are a great many names of the form Abitub, Abimelech, Abiezer, Achitub, Achimelech, etc. The parts *Abi-* and

Achi, 'father' and 'brother,' are most frequently taken to be the divine element of a theophorous compound — a substitute for *El*- or *Jeho*- or *Baal*-, and many suggestions have been offered as to who the god is that hides behind the innocuous appellation of Father or Brother. That, of course, implies that these names are a survival of a pre-yahvist period of Israelitish history. In some or all of these cases the explanation may be sound, although the designation of a god as 'brother' is, to say the least, difficult to parallel elsewhere. Secondly, while the *Abi* and *Achi* series show many correspondences, there are few cases in which an *Abi*-name appears in another form with *El*- or *Jeho*- in the place of *Abi*-, as *Abinadab* by the side of *Jehonadab*, and *Abieser* parallel to *Eliezzer*. In many of the names of this composition the second part is a quality or an action — help, strength, goodness. If in these names *Abi*- represents the Arabic type mentioned, as *Abu Thaqif*, *Abu Jamil*, and the like, we may find another case of the presence of a *kunyah*. Abigail and Abishag, which are names of women, will be hard to put into such a group, but there is nothing to hinder us from supposing that this type was derived from two sources — one the theophorous name and the other the *kunyah*.

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AN UNKNOWN SOURCE OF LUTHER'S THEOLOGY

In his article 'A Decade of Luther Study' (*Harvard Theological Review* for April 1921, p. 111), Preserved Smith says of A. V. Müller: "His own thesis, doubtless carried too far, is that everything in Luther can be found in his predecessors, and that there is practically nothing original at all in the Reformer's thought."

In two articles, to which Preserved Smith does not refer, Müller has collected concrete evidence in support of his view.¹ He there compares the theology of two members of Luther's order (the Augustinian) with that of Luther, showing that there is a perfect agreement on many important points between Agostino Favaroni and Jacobus Perez on the one hand, and Luther on the other.

But even more telling is the evidence brought in Müller's recent book,² in which we become acquainted with a nearly forgotten master

¹ *Bilgichnis*, Rome, June 1914 and May-June 1920.

² A. V. Müller, *Una fonte ignota del sistema di Lutero (il beato Fidati da Cascia e la sua teologia)*. Rome, 1921.

of mediaeval theology, Fra Simone Fidati da Cascia,³ a member of the Augustinian order who died in 1348 after a life devoted to the preaching of the gospel.

His great work in fifteen books, which he wrote toward the end of his life, is quoted under various titles: *De gestis domini salvatoris*, or *Super totum corpus evangeliorum*, or *De religione christiana*. It was printed in at least three editions before the publication of Luther's thesis, namely, in 1485 (place unknown), in 1490 at Strassburg, and in 1517 at Basel.

Luther was no friend of philosophical studies. His opposition to Aristotle in theological matters was absolute. To the scholastic saying, "*Sine Aristotele non fit theologus*," he opposed his "*Theologus non fit nisi sine Aristotele*." This anathema against the "*rancidae logicorum regulae*" is found before Luther in Fidati, who condemns the doctors "mixing nature with supernatural theology" (viii. 22), "correcting with syllogisms the speech of Christ, the apostles, and the true doctors" (*ibid.*), and who doubts whether these *novi theologi*, claiming to be Catholic, were actually so in their hearts. To the *credo ut intelligam* he opposes *intelligo ut credam*.

Both Luther and Fidati opposed the scholastic doctrines enumerated below, although no one ever brought under suspicion the orthodoxy of Fidati.

(1) Fidati, in commenting upon "*poenitentiam agite*" (Matt. 4, 17), opposes the scholastic tripartition of penance (*contritio, confessio, satisfactio*) and refuses to admit that the latter two are essential elements of it. *Poenitentia* to him is the distressing sorrow of a soul separated from God; actions are merely the *signs* of penitence (ix. 7).

(2) To the common belief that human actions may be meritorious in the sight of God and helpful in obtaining salvation, Fidati opposes the great Pauline statement: "Only faith in Christ justifies and saves" (ix. 31); this faith is "a gift" (i. 23), which "only God operates in human hearts" (xi. 12). Fidati's position on the great question of salvation by works is that of the Reformation: "If salvation came from good works, Christ would have been crucified in vain, and grace would not be grace if our own justice could justify us" (i. 26). The basic principle of Protestantism could not be stated more clearly.

(3) "*Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*." In spite of the early Fathers, scholasticism had adopted the Roman interpretation of that passage; but Fidati, as explicitly as Luther,

³ See Mattioli, *Il beato Simone da Cascia*. Rome, 1898.

declares that the foundation stone is Christ: "We are namely founded not on Peter, but on the rock, Christ" (ix. 35).

(4) The efficiency of the intercession of the saints in favor of sinners is flatly denied by Fidati (xii. 15): they can help neither through their power nor through their merits: "*totum agitur in nomine salvatoris.*"

As to the question whether Luther used Fidati's book positive proof is not forthcoming, since Luther rarely quoted the sources of his thought. The value of Müller's work is rather in giving new support for the contention that Luther's ideas were not wholly new, that something of them was in the atmosphere. There was some light before sunrise, "*splendori antelucani,*" as Dante says. Fidati belonged to the elect company of those seers who to the call, "Watchman, what of the night?" answer, "The morning cometh."

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MACLER'S ARMENIAN GOSPELS

Le texte arménien de l'évangile d'après Matthieu et Marc par Frédéric Macler. Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque des études, tome 28, Paris, 1919, pp. lxxii + 647.

The well-known Armenist of the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes at Paris, Professor Frédéric Macler, has laid New Testament scholars and those who are interested in the Caucasian languages, more particularly Armenian, under a decided obligation by the publication of this elaborate study of the text of Matthew and Mark in the Armenian version. What makes the book of especial value is the fact that we have here a large number of variants drawn from Mss. which were inaccessible to the editor of the only variorum edition of the Armenian text hitherto published — that of Zohrab, Venice, 1805. This is peculiarly grateful to the Armenist, while the New Testament critic finds a large body of readings from various Armenian Mss. or manuscript groups collected, translated, analyzed, and compared with the Greek, the Old Syriac, and the Peshitto by a competent scholar.

Macler, however, is not content with giving the raw materials, but marshals the evidence with considerable skill in support of certain theses which he is maintaining. A short outline of the book will

make this clear. After the introductory material and bibliography comes an historical introduction in two chapters, of which the first is entitled, 'Données historiques sur la question chez les auteurs arméniens anciens,' wherein are discussed (pp. xxvii-xxxiv) the statements by Koriun, Lazar of P'arp, Moses of Khorene, and the so-called 'little' Koriun. Macler concludes that the Scriptures were translated from the Greek by Sahak or Mashtots, and that the later tradition regarding Syrian activities in Moses of Khorene is incorrect. In the second chapter, 'Le problème envisagé par les modernes' (pp. xxxiv-lxxii), he discusses the views of other scholars, incidentally controverting Armitage Robinson's statements in his *Euthaliana*.

The Mss. themselves fall into two main groups, which Macler calls Z and Mq. To the group Z, which in the main reproduce Zohrab's text, belong: M (A.D. 902?), Venice, Mekh. 1144; E (A.D. 989), Echmiadzin 229¹; B (A.D. 1053), Echmiadzin 363; D (A.D. 1066), Echmiadzin 369; F (A.D. 1099), Echmiadzin 257. Apparently these all go back to the same archetype. The Mss. of the group Mq are made up of the following: Mq itself (A.D. 887), Lazarev Institute, Moscow; A (A.D. 1045), Echmiadzin 23 G; H (A.D. 1007), Venice, Mekh. 887; C (A.D. 1057), Echmiadzin 362 G. F seems to bear some relation to the Mq group.

Macler takes up the Mss., discussing the variants by categories. Mq is first treated (pp. 2-47), and the author comes to the conclusion that, although inaccurate, it contains good readings and is synthetic in character rather than representing any one actual type (p. 47). H (pp. 47-57) seems to be an inaccurate copy of a Ms. of the Mq type, but revised to bring it nearer the Greek. A contains, beside a number of errors, many "arbitrary" readings (pp. 57-93). C shows many dialectical and grammatical variations, as well as "arbitrary" readings: it stands close to A, and its language bears some relation to the grecophil school of translators (pp. 93-165). Macler's conclusion is that the Mq group has no inner unity, but that the variants which we meet in it go back to various types of Greek Mss., and he denies almost completely the notion of Syriac influence. The Mss. of the Z group, on the contrary, prove to be relatively closely related to one another, as far as M, B, D, and E are concerned (pp. 168-270); F seems to stand between Z and Mq (pp. 271-315).

The second part of the work consists of a comparison of the Armenian text with the other versions (pp. 317-402), first of all with

¹ This Ms. is described by Macler in *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques*, n. s., fasc. 2, Paris, 1910, pp. 27-37.

the Old Latin, where there is naturally but little agreement. Next comes the question of Syriac influence, and a discussion of the coincidences and disagreements between Z and the Peshitto. Before showing that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* cannot be the original of the Armenian translation, he discusses the Peshitto, and endeavors to explain away the coincidences by adducing variants from various Greek Mss. The chapter (pp. 403-568) entitled '*La technique de la traduction*,' is particularly interesting. Macler's thesis is that the Armenian "*semble calqué sur la grec*."

The final fourth chapter, "*Examen des variants portant sur le fond*" (pp. 569-637), is devoted to a discussion of the type of Greek Ms. to which the archetype of our Armenian codices is most closely related. Macler comes to the conclusion (p. 631) that '*la traduction arménienne repose sur un manuscrit grec de la famille que von Soden désigne par I: ce manuscrit est apparenté en particulier au Codex Bezae et à l'Évangile de Koridethi*,' although he qualifies this statement by admitting that certain of the peculiarities of D are not found in the Armenian. After touching on the disagreement of the Armenian with both the Syriac and the Greek (pp. 632-637), he discusses the variant *dalmaterên*, 'in Dalmatian' (Lc. 23, 38; Jo. 19, 20) for *γράμμασιν . . . ῥωμαϊκοῖς*, which he considers to be evidence that the Armenian Gospels were translated in the time of Justinian, the most important Byzantine emperor from Dalmatia.

The reviewer of this painstaking and careful work cannot but express his regret that (apart from the grave blemish of the lack of an index) certain omissions and commissions materially diminish its value. First of all, it is a great pity that complete collations of the several Mss. are not given. The reader is not put in a position to form his own judgment, but is forced to deal with the author's collections, themselves made to illustrate a theory. Secondly, the author is bound by the prevailing superstition that the oldest and calligraphically most perfect Mss. exhibit the best text. *Éditions de luxe* are objects of dubious value, and the elegant scribe is rarely a good scholar. Failure to recognize this has done incalculable harm to textual criticism, both of the biblical text and in classical philology. One has only to grasp the relation of Codex B in some books of the Bible to its minuscule congeners to see how often the latter have the true reading, while the uncial Mss. of Vergil stand far behind the better minuscules in value. Mq in particular is a very inaccurate Ms. Moreover, although the discussion of the various authorities

² R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*,³ Paris 1907, pp. 37-42.

is valuable as a collection of opinions, the critical estimates are in many cases crude. The writer seems to give more weight to the *consensus opinionum multorum* than to the actual critical value of the remarks themselves, which for the most part is almost nil: the New Testament scholars are generally unacquainted with Armenian, while the Armenists are almost all wholly ignorant of the principles of New Testament criticism. As to the Armenian tradition about the translation itself, it seems to the reviewer highly unsafe to cast overboard the Syriac tradition as we have it in Moses of Khorene and to adhere to the violently partisan statements of such rabid grecophils as Lazar of P'arp and Koriun. Macler has not given due weight to the fact that the truthfulness of Moses of Khorene has of late been rehabilitated; if he cites Carrière, why not also Marr's work? The fact that Moses of Khorene is later than the other writers does not militate against the value of the sources which he used. A further very serious gap in the book lies in the fact that the Georgian tradition, which gives us the oldest accessible form of the Armenian text, is not used by the writer, when V. N. Benešević's edition (St. Petersburg, 1909-11) must surely have been accessible to him. This is based on the Opiza gospels (A.D. 913). Still more important are the Adysh gospels, now published in a magnificent phototypic edition by E. S. Taqaishvili.³ This Ms. dates from the year 897, and the text seems quite independent of the Greek.

The view seems highly doubtful that our Armenian Mss. actually descend from a single archetype, and that it is possible to recognize this among existing Greek Mss. An examination of the evidence regarding the Armenian translators will show, I think, that Sahak was engaged in an opposition to Syriac translators. We know that up to the beginning of the fifth century the Diatessaron was the prevailing gospel text in use among the Mesopotamian Syrians, but that Rab-bula's revision met with an immediate success with all parties;⁴ is it not, then, likely that the Syriac missionaries would at once translate the gospels into Armenian? We have evidence from Georgian sources⁵ of the activity of the Nestorian translators in the fifth century.

³ Материалы по археологии Кавказа, выпускъ 16, Moscow, 1916. The date of the Ms. is disputed, but the preponderance of evidence for the earlier date as given in the text is very decided.

⁴ See F. C. Burkitt in *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, II, pp. 161-164, Cambridge, 1904.

⁵ See the tractate of the Georgian Katalikozi Arseni on the schism between Armenians and Georgians in *Zordania*, *Kronikebi*, etc., I. Tiflis, 1892, pp. 313 ff., especially p. 325.

Caucasian problems are complicated, and Caucasian languages are not bound by a classical tradition as was Greek. The processes of retranslation and revision went on almost uninterruptedly. Surely the history of the multiform versions of the Scriptures in Syriac and Georgian should be a warning against an undue simplification of the problem in Armenian. Then, too, the earlier history of the Koridethi Ms. is highly problematical, especially its localization at Martyropolis,⁶ nor is there the slightest evidence to connect Codex Bezae with Asia Minor. The *dalmaterên* of Luke 23, 38, John 19, 20 is curious indeed, but we should note that there is no canonical translation or transliteration for the word 'Latin' in the Oriental languages. In some old Georgian texts we have for 'Roman' the form *p'romini*, which is so far an absolute enigma.⁷ That Justinian was reigning in Constantinople would hardly have caused Latin to be called 'Dalmatian' on the Armenian border. It is far more probably due to the fact of Dalmatian troops being stationed there for a considerable period.⁸ A reading of this sort need not point to exceptionally good knowledge of things imperial on the part of the translator, nor is the possibility excluded that the reading, after being once established in the text, was taken over by Mss. of a different version.

In fine, there are many serious objections to Professor Maccler's arguments. He makes out a good case for the absence of any direct connection between the Old Syriac and the Armenian, and also for the preponderance of Greek influence in the gospel text, but he can only explain the numerous coincidences between it and the Peshitto by scraping together variants from many diverse types of Greek Mss. Would not the more natural supposition be that a translation from the Syriac formerly existed and has influenced our present text?

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⁶ This word is a very problematical expansion of an obscure contraction, nor is *Teppury* certain either. See the text of the adscription, p. 498, and Beermann's discussion of the same, pp. 569 ff. in Beermann and Gregory's edition, Leipzig, 1913.

⁷ This form is found in the Georgian version of Epiphanius, *περὶ τῶν ἐσ' ἁλθῶν*, Ms. 1141 (ca. A.D. 970) of the Georgian Literary Society (Šatberd Ms.) p. 129a = ed. *ДЖАНАШВИЛИ*, p. 26; in the *Passio ss. martt. Ivlianos et Evbulos, Tevdoros et Malkamon, Mokimen et Salamone*, Ms. 341 (inc. aetatis) of the Georgian Society of History and Ethnology, f. 209r; in Acts 16, 21 of Ms. 407 of the Georgian Literary Society, quaternio 30, f. 2r (236).

⁸ Cf. V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et Rome, fasc. 99, Paris, 1907, pp. 100-108.

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SOCIAL UNREST AND SPIRITUAL AGITATION IN PRESENT-DAY JAPAN

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IN many aspects of social life Japan shares with the whole world the consequences of the World War, particularly in the intricate connections between social unrest and spiritual agitation. Japan had passed through two wars in recent times; they aroused the nation to national self-consciousness, but they brought also many new problems. Yet those wars were fought far from Japan itself, and did not bring home the disasters and miseries of war. In the World War Japan took a part, but it remained for the people a matter of distant lands. Thus they were comparatively indifferent to the various issues raised by the war, such as the combat between militarism and democracy, the questions of international justice and the self-determination of nations, the problems of peace and social reconstruction. Moreover, their indignation against the aggressive Occident led the people to discredit the pleas of the allies against Germany, and often to incline to sympathize with the German claim of "a place in the sun." These circumstances tended to keep the Japanese comparatively untouched by the problems created by the war. But the collapse of the great empires and the final outcome of the war could not fail to produce a profound impression among the Japanese. Although the people at large did not realize the whole situation, yet the gravity of the changes and problems was more or less fully grasped, and serious thought was stirred on social and religious questions.

In addition to the tidal waves coming from Europe, international conditions gradually caused apprehension. By reason

of the peculiar position of Japan during the war, her industrial and commercial prosperity made marvellous strides. The war-boom produced many *nouveaux riches*, a reign of the *nari-kin*,¹ and brought tremendous changes in life and ideas. The extravagant luxury of the rich capitalists called out high claims from the labor people; the one-sided accumulation of wealth, never before paralleled, was accompanied by an astonishing rise in the cost of living; the heavy claims of the army and navy stood in flagrant contrast to the miserable accommodations of schools and other works of culture. Strikes of laborers became frequent, the discontent of the educated classes rose to high tide, the miseries of the poorer classes increased; and the "rice riots" in August 1915 brought to every one's life and mind the dangerous features of the whole situation. The militarist Terauchi cabinet fell on that account; but the antagonism between the reactionaries and the radicals was thereby not at all assuaged, because the demands for certain changes and the pressure for reconstruction so alarmed the conservatives that they called up all available forces and means for combating the "dangerous" tendencies. Any expression of radical ideas was suspected to be connected with Bolshevik propaganda, for the Russian revolution of 1917 became a nightmare to the privileged classes. Demands for social reconstruction were interpreted as a mere imitation of revolutionary ideas imported from outside. The number of accusations of *lèse-majesté* increased year by year. Socialism, communism, and anything of similar tendency were indiscriminately condemned as potential cases of high treason. The Shinto religion and "national ethics" were resorted to against those "foreign ideas" which meant "dangerous" menace to the safety of the country; while dubious agents, — hypocrites, fanatics, or unprincipled preachers, — were mobilized for fighting the "dangerous ideas."

To the erratic nature of these reactionary measures corresponded the growing ferocity of agitation, manifesting itself

¹ This term was taken from Japanese chess, its occidental equivalent being a pawn raised to the dignity of a queen.

in the vigor of the protest, the extension of labor sabotage² and strikes, and the outspoken hostility toward the authorities and the rich. No previous period in Japan ever witnessed so many publications on labor questions, Marxism, syndicalism, social reconstruction, as did the years after the Great War. The vehement expressions of the plea for the proletariat seemed to subside after the economic depression which gave a serious blow to business in the spring of 1921; but the firm stand of the government and its party (Seiyu-kai) in behalf of the propertied classes has called forth the indignation of the unprivileged, and is working only to instigate disorders beneath the surface. The scandals exposed one after another, all on a larger scale than in most of the preceding years, were shown to have connection with members of the government party. The desperate steps taken by the quick-tempered radicals culminated in the assassination of a rich banker and then of the Premier Hara, both in 1921.

One cannot foresee what will be the outcome of this furious conflict. But one point is clear; a firm stand has been taken by the thoughtful middle class in seeking after a reconstructed foundation of culture on the basis of social solidarity and democratic freedom. Yet it remains to be seen whether a really constructive force can prove itself efficient without first a further outburst of destructive forces. In the midst of the furious conflict the young heir-apparent to the throne made in 1921 a journey to Europe, and it is believed that he was deeply impressed by the democratic freedom of English life. Thus hope is cherished that his regency, upon which he entered in November, may help to mitigate the situation, since social and political situations are much influenced by the attitude of the person in the highest position. But on the other hand the cleavage between the conflicting forces is giving more and more reason for concern, and the general situation may be described as one of ferment and agitation.

² To cite one instance, the author was surprised to find so much in vogue the word sabotage, and a new Japanese verb derived from it, *saboru*, when after an absence of only ten months he returned to Japan in October 1919.

The ferment is not limited to the political and social arena, but goes deep down to the very roots of human life, and the turbulence manifests itself in demands for wanton emancipation of the instincts of human nature. As ferocity and pugnacity mark the present phase of social movements, so the consideration of the instincts of self-preservation and perpetuation plays an important part in discussions of moral and social problems. Many a problem is reduced to that of sex, and naturalism is extended from the sphere of literature to other aspects of social life. The question of birth control, the feminist movement, the question of love and marriage, these and similar points are but different aspects of the general tendency; and many people are dissatisfied unless every veil that covers human instinct be relentlessly stripped off. In fact numerous cases of love or family tragedies have been made public, and opinions are freely expressed either in sympathy or in antagonistic criticism. These, and other, expressions of ideas on sex often exhibit indecent coloring; but in any case the instinctive nature of mankind is emphasized in various discussions, and thinkers are aware that the moral questions of the day cannot be successfully attacked without considering the fundamental fact of instinct. We see here a repetition of the conflict between the instinct and the reason which has several times shown its effects in the moral history of the Japanese people; but at present the manifestation of the instinctive nature finds freer expression than in any past period, and therein is shown an effect of the modern biological view of life. The question is not, as in the past, whether the instinct should be suppressed, but how it can or ought to be controlled by considerations drawn from the higher aspects of human life. Naked exposure of these questions may work as an explosive force, but may also lead to a more constructive stage of the re-estimate of all values through due account taken of biological factors. But it cannot be said that the agitation is at present taking a normal and wholesome course.

One marked feature of spiritual ferment in these circumstances is the general discrediting of all the existing religions,

including Christianity, and the appearance of new religious movements ranging from impetuous revivalism and great visions to calm self-renunciation. Wide is the gap between these two extremes, but common features can be discerned in them all, namely that social, and particularly economic, considerations are brought into close relation with the spiritual problems, and that the intuitive, or instinctive, nature of religion is emphasized in antagonism to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical systems. On the social and economic side more or less communistic ideas keep recurring in these new religions; and very general emphasis is laid on the instincts, either with a justification of human passions and instincts which used to be called sins, or with some kind of attempt at their transformation, not their suppression. We discern here an insurgent upheaval of the instinctive force of religion embedded in the depth of the soul, taking advantage of the opportunity given by social agitation and spiritual ferment in defiance of the discredited traditional religions. Most of these new forces are crude in expression and extravagant in their pretensions, but they show the vigor and nascent vitality of growing organisms. Some of them are extremely individualistic and sentimental, but many a representative leader has passed through stages of spiritual convulsion and attained a sincere insight into the mysteries of life. It is not enough simply to denounce the crudeness; full recognition must be given to the vigorous power arising in turbulence. In short, all this offers a bold challenge to traditional beliefs, represents an aspiration toward a thorough review of spiritual values, and is making an attempt at reconstructing human life from the depths of the demands of instinct. All the questions and movements revolve about the pivot of how to look at the basic nature of human existence, and of the question what aspect of that nature shall be re-valued and used in a reconstruction of human life, both individual and social.

The whole situation is highly perplexing, and it is no wonder that many troubled minds are at a loss as to how to discover some clue to a final reconstruction. They cherish an ardor of aspiration, but in their crudeness are often unable to cope with

the complications, and so try to arrive at a conclusion by wild groping and convulsive pretension. Any chance notion may, and often does, captivate minds in this condition, inducing them to preposterous affirmations, particularly those tinged by prophetic hues. The key-note of this state of mind is discontent with the present and a demand for reconstruction, and the tune that is played reveals the bombastic certitude of prophetic convictions. Numerous individuals and organizations represent this type of the bewildered mind. Though they appear and vanish again from one day to the next, or month by month, they all are but different manifestations of one and the same force of turbulent commotion stirring in the depths of perplexed souls. One who is troubled at heart often goes to an extreme of boastful self-assertion, and many a movement of this kind is characterized by an anomalous combination of desperate pessimism with unbalanced self-glorification.

The most typical of the movements of this kind has been a body called Omoto-kyo, or the teaching of the "Great Fundamentals," which was started by a crazy old woman who believed herself to be the messenger of the gods, sent by them to effect a fundamental "rebuilding" (*O-tate-naoshi* or *O-tate-kae* *) of the whole world. The idea first came to her of herself, and she wrote down the messages of the gods in automatic writing, and so began her propaganda of rebuilding the world. Under maltreatment by her neighbors and persecution from the police her fervor grew to intense heat. Her teaching was further elaborated by a combined effort of humbugs and fanatics. Their ideas were prompted by fear and boastfulness, with much of chauvinism as well as of threats and lamentations; and their utterances bear a certain resemblance to some passages of the Old Testament prophets or of Mohammed. During the Great War they predicted an invasion of Japan, first by a German-Russian allied force (particularly through air attacks), and then, after the destined collapse of these two powers, by the United States. According to them, this coming

* The words *tate-naoshi* and *tate-kae* are commonly used for rebuilding houses, and the woman was in fact the wife of a carpenter addicted to drink. The necessity of 'rebuilding' was indeed deeply felt by the woman through her own experience in life.

invasion will devastate the whole country, except their own locality, Ayabe, a little town in central Japan. But, they preach, the final day in the fate of Japan will be a turning-point in the world's history, for the hosts of the gods will arise from Ayabe and not only vanquish the invaders but subjugate the whole world. Thereafter the peace of the gods will prevail in a theocracy, the present believers being destined to be ministers, generals, and high officials, under the sole rulership of the messenger of the gods, the descendant of the woman founder. Beside these preposterous predictions and promises they pretend to work miraculous cures, and teach more or less communistic ideas, claiming to solve the social problem of all mankind.

This curious combination of fear and pride is not limited to this Omoto-kyo; many similar movements in Japan and Korea show nearly the same symptoms of the bewildered mind. The Omoto-kyo was suppressed by the government authorities, but its members are working along the same lines no less eagerly than before, only modifying those points of their teaching most distasteful to the government. These survivors and many others may at any time renew their vigorous propaganda, and there are many souls ready to fall victims to similar predictions and miracles. It is noteworthy that the individuals and bodies of this sort are in one way or another affiliated with the Shinto religion, and consequently antagonize Buddhism and Christianity. For this there is more than one reason. The first is a motive, on their part, to assume a protective color, because of the patronizing attitude extended to Shinto by the government. Even the most bombastic of these pretenders are often, if not usually, cowards, and feel safer under the protection of the Shinto name. Moreover, Shinto represents the primitive, and therefore instinctive, traits of religious life, in contrast to the "doctrinated" religions existing in Japan. Thus the rise of these Shinto movements is a part of the same emphasis on the instinctive nature of man which has been described above.

This trait, however, is not limited to Shinto, but can be found more or less in Buddhism and Christianity. Buddhism as a

body, or as an aggregate of church organizations, is hopelessly degenerate, and its clergy are utterly at a loss as to how to meet the perplexing situations presented on all sides. Yet its spiritual fountain is not without signs of a new outburst of geyser-like revival. In the course of the past two or three decades several Buddhist revivals have appeared one after another and passed away, but have left some impressions. At present one of the conspicuous features in the life of Buddhism is the rising interest in Shinran, the pietist reformer of the thirteenth century. In fact, his religion of absolute faith in Buddha's grace has as its counterpart a full recognition of all kinds of human weakness or sinfulness. Though not exactly justifying or advocating sins and passions, he emphasized that we could be saved even without purging ourselves from all the depravities of human nature, because of the overwhelming strength of Buddha's saving power. This aspect of Shinran's religion could easily be used as endorsing the naturalistic or biological view of human life, and in the past various signs of this combination of pietism and naturalism have shown themselves. Now the new vitality manifested in this form of Buddhism, particularly among the youth, is a phenomenon intrinsically connected with the surging tide of the emphasis on the instinctive side of life. The motive lies in the full acknowledgment of the wickedness of human nature, of the miseries and tragedies of life. This may be called an attitude of confession and contrition, but the modern followers of Shinran deny the necessity of remorse and contrition. On the contrary, they proceed to the delight of cancelling (or redeeming) all sins and obstacles through the all-embracing mercy of Buddha. All vile darkness vanishes, according to them, before the all-permeating light of his love, the love which can and ought to be experienced even by the most sinful beings. It is only one step from this joy in faith to a kind of glorification of human passions, and in fact the new force in Shinranism lies in the free delight of life even in vice and passion. To cite from one of the typical representatives of this movement:

Religion is nothing but yearning of a defective being after perfection. The humility of the soul by which it confesses without any reserve the bar-

renness of self that is full of falsehood and is bewildered and troubled, — this humility makes us aspire for the absolute reality which is rich, true, and stands beyond all commotion for ever. The lonesome cannot bear to remain alone, but ardently longs to be joined with an eternally beloved, — that is religion.

But this is not all. Reality, or love, is, according to this writer, not an abstract principle, but is to be personally experienced by everybody. Again, this experience needs no training in higher sorts of culture or contemplation, but just in daily life, the actual carnal life of every human being. Love is best exemplified by sexual love, because its secret is latent in every man and woman, which can only be brought forth to actual experience through contact with the other sex. Love is a union of both flesh and spirit, and one who is the best and most fervent lover in life is best entitled to be saved by Buddha's love. This was the religion of Shinran, according to this writer, and his faith amounted to a securing of the love of Buddha through love for other beings, — certainly love of all kinds, but especially sexual love. Various other points could be noted in the tenets and experiences of this writer and his fellows, but suffice it to say that they emphasize what they call "pure experience," coinciding with "pure love," and that they thus identify instinctive love with religious faith, because they see purity only in the life of primal instinct.

This strain of religious faith, somewhat vague and mystic though it is, exhibits a fire of ardor in finding the final resort of life in the primal motive of human life. It is doubtless sentimentalism, but, being something more than a mere play of sentiment, attempts to strike at the very root of the individual soul and to discover therein something beyond the individual. It amounts to a glorification of the instincts by transforming them through the realization of the all-pervading oneness of mankind in the very depth of its instinctive nature. The influence of this stream of naturalism is not limited to Buddhism; Christianity is affected by it. One of the important aspects in the Christian movement in Japan is that not a few independent thinkers are more and more alienated from church organizations, and share in the general movement of emphasizing the intuitive aspect of religious life. Their endeavor is to reduce

the Christian religion to the palpable fact of personal experience, and it therefore stands for the assertion of individuality, in contradistinction to ecclesiastical systems and to the emphasis laid on social work. Thus these independent Christians, or ex-christians, are individualists, not only in religious idea but also in their moral or social view of life. Some among them are Tolstoyans, some are worshippers of Walt Whitman, of Kierkegaard, and so on; and in this respect they are bound together with the individualists, whose affiliation otherwise ranges from mysticism to rationalism.

Faithful to their principle, these individualists would not organize themselves in any way, in spite of the extent of their sentiment of fellowship among themselves. It is therefore almost impossible to classify them and label them by 'isms.' Indeed, one of them well represents their tendency in this respect, when he says, to cite but one passage:

I discovered that I had been one of those who were to be called hypocrites in the Christian church.

I am not sorry that I have been alienated from the group in which the righteous, the hypocrites, the sinners, and so on, are distinctly labelled, and various persons treated according to the categories.

It [deserting the church] has been a long way round; but to gain a profound sense of dissatisfaction with my own life was, after all, the shortest way home. . . .

Is man the lord or the slave of destiny? This question puzzles me and leads me to melancholy. Confidence in God, the certitude of moral laws, or the foundation of science, the standpoint of humanity, all this will be unstable without a decisive solution of this fundamental question.

And the solution is offered by Love, the pure instinct. In love I embrace others, as I am embraced by others in love; and thus I and others make up the beautiful texture of life, by weaving together the woof of self and the warp of others. The better and profounder the self, the inner self, is developed, the better and the more profoundly is the external world embraced into self. The whole life is thus perfected. There is thereby no sacrifice, nor duty, but only the privilege of being grateful and the saturation of being enjoyed.

Christ embraced in his supreme love all mankind of the past, present, and future. . . . He was the man who experienced most fully the joy of loving self, and therefore loved and embraced them all into himself.

Only change the word 'Christ,' and where is the difference between this and the utterances of the Buddhist individualists? The latter delight in discovering that either Buddha

or Shinran was merely a human being like themselves; and similarly some Christians take bold steps in finding a human Christ. In the spring of 1921 appeared a book of 1,500 pages bearing the title *Shin-yaku*, that is 'The New Testament,' a life of Jesus. Its author was a man quite unknown before, who at one stroke attained high fame by that writing. The book is in the form of an historical novel, and beside a vivid delineation of the life of the Jewish people the author brings into high relief the human and humane aspects of Jesus' personality and life. Jesus is depicted as a man of fine sensibility, keen insight, and profound spirituality, but a visionary, often bewildered as to his own dispositions, guided by ecstatic visions and voices. The author seems to have been influenced by the Freudian psychology, when he depicts the love of Jesus for certain women, particularly Mary Magdalene, a love of which Jesus was not quite aware. The emphasis on the sexual instinct is strongly shown in the author's way of handling the secrets of the lives of many persons who appear in the stories, and of indicating thereby the discrepancy between the Law and Love. The most striking point in the book is the author's sympathetic attitude towards Judas Iscariot. Describing the character and temperament of Judas, an abandoned child of cynical nature, he depicts his betrayal of the Master as an experiment, so to speak, tried on Jesus, in the idea that the Kingdom of Heaven as he had preached it could only be realized through his death. The author means that while the other disciples were still holding the traditional conception of the Kingdom, and while Jesus himself was not yet quite clear as to his own idea, Judas caught somehow by a quick insight the necessary consequence of Jesus' teaching. In a later book bearing the title "Resurrection" the author goes further, even so far as to say that the title of his book implies a resurrection of Judas, the modern man free from conventions and hypocrisy.

These books are not the only ones which attempt to humanize Jesus; they find their companion in another life of Jesus, written by a Tolstoyan who founded a communistic settlement, the "New Community." There Jesus is represented as a simple human being of pure heart. He penetrated into the heart of

humanity through his love for his Father, and so reached the innermost depth of the human soul. To cite one passage from him:

I cannot bear to think of mankind devoid of the existence of Jesus. There is nothing more grateful in the world than that Jesus and Buddha have appeared among us. I cannot live without thinking of them. They are the largest flourishing vines. . . . I am here alone, but I can hear Jesus' words, can converse with Buddha, and similarly with Goethe, Whitman, Rodin, and many others.

O Jesus! What vigor I derive from you! . . . Pity this little brother of yours! . . . I am yet too little to converse with you as a friend, but hope to be finally one day a friend who can talk with you without any reserve. In these days I feel that I know more and more the truth of what you have spoken.

This is not the place to examine all these views of Jesus, but what is to be noted is that they are all an expression of the ardent desire cherished by the youthful spirit to disentangle from all convention and formalism, to re-estimate and transform all values. These writers, together with their numerous admirers, will not be satisfied unless everything be reviewed in a new light, the light emanating from their own heart and soul. It is also a manifestation of the attempt at naturalizing Christ, unbinding him from all the fetters of ecclesiastical and missionary conceptions. But naturalization is by no means identical with nationalization, for even "national" codes of ethics, or any other national principles, are nothing but hypocrisy unless recast and rewrought by the vigorous vitality of the unfettered, aspiring soul. Thus we see, both in Buddhism and Christianity, that the young aspiring souls are radical individualists trying to review and reconstruct human life from the very bottom of its primal nature.

These individualists have certainly been moved by social unrest in general, but their ideas and principles have little to do directly with the pending questions of the present time. On the other hand many an earnest mind has been in close touch with the social troubles of the day, and consequently bears witness to the intimate ties binding together the social and the spiritual aspects of human life. The representatives

of this tendency are not merely social workers, but are convinced of the necessity of founding social reconstruction upon the spiritual rebirth of each and every individual. According to this view the solution of social problems is not merely by the application of a certain religious principle or dogma, but will be a natural consequence of a new life, a new departure of spiritual life, a resurrection after the death of the narrow self entangled in conventions and traditions. Not an immersion of self in piety or contemplation, but the life of active work guided by spiritual visions and imbued with religious ideals, — this is the key-note of the movements started by those souls who have passed through the discords of social and economic troubles and have attained a higher harmony of spiritual peace and religious zeal. We can say that nearly all the religious workers of earnest mind belong to this category. But their solutions of the problems, their methods and aims, as well as their affiliations, whether explicit or implicit, exhibit a wide range of diversity. Here we may single out two most prominent figures, one Christian and the other Buddhist, though not in the regular sense.

The first, Toyohiko Kagawa is now a name so well known that any writing bearing it is read with keen attention, while his person is worshipped in some quarters as the "saviour of the poor" or as a labor leader, though he is at the same time criticized in various ways. Whatever the merit of his person may be, and whatever he may in future finally prove to be, his work for ten years in the worst of slums and his ideas on the meaning of social work deserve close attention and high admiration. He has recently left his abode in a slum and has been evangelizing among the aborigines of Formosa; and this change in his interest is interpreted in different ways. But our interest here is not in his future but in the tendency he has represented during his work in the slums and for labor people. He was educated in a Presbyterian seminary, but being dissatisfied with theology and church, he trained himself, working among the lowest people, with the conviction that the real God and his love could only be found among the lowest of people. But let us hear what he says himself:

Love toward sinners! Human nature can first be established in a society in which one can pour love even upon sinners. This is a problem too delicate to be settled by materialistic socialism, which seeks to solve all questions through that of bread. On the other hand the bold attitude of the carpenter Jesus, who "came to call sinners to repentance," was, perhaps too religious to attract ordinary human beings; yet the aim of all and every movement for reconstruction is finally to arrive at that point. A perfect society is one where even sinners are loved and protected, so that they may be led up to repentance. . . .

The restoration and elevation of human nature can be impeded by no one. Human nature, that is the sublimest of all the architectures in the world. . . . But Capital and the Factory are nowadays forcing this grand work of art [the human being] to stand beside an oil-can and to live a constricted life among machinery. A very devil is the modern factory.

Yet sun-light comes in through the windows of the factory, and reveals that its rooms are teeming with children of God. There will come a time when the figures of these children of light, and not the machine, will be exalted and adored in the name of freedom and light. The sun is rising, and human architecture is near its completion.

It was this fundamental faith that induced him to work in the slums and enabled him to face all the hardships and desperate situations. In a novel which is practically his autobiography, Kagawa speaks thus of the hero of the story:

He is well aware that social policies of temporary nature or sensational theories of social revolution are not the way to save mankind; and he has settled down in the slums in order to see what is the power of God that saves man from the vilest depth of sinful life. He does not say to the poor either that they should attempt a revolution or that the rich alone are vicious, but he preaches only the way of salvation. And that amounts to the necessity of transforming all the aspects of human nature, including instincts, temperaments, and intelligence. Any external force is unable to save human society, and nothing is more important than the power of God working within every one's self. This is his religious faith that is guiding his whole life.

In these and other utterances backed by his life and work, we see the strong, yet meek, personality of Kagawa flooded with the rays of hope and faith, even in the midst of the most dismal shadows of the slum. He is not so much a social reformer with definite programs of policies, as a spiritual reformer full of conviction and vision, yet never losing himself in mere ideas, but working persistently and assiduously for the erection of what he calls "human architecture."

Another representative of the same tendency of identifying the social and the spiritual problems is Tenko Nishida, a man

who had passed through vicissitudes of success and failure in his life, and finally entered a life of humility, non-possession, and service. He was born in a Buddhist family and grew up as a Buddhist. He had once been an industrial enterpriser; but his failure, chiefly due to the pressure of difficulties heaped upon him by his capitalists and workmen, caused him to become desperate and addicted to vice. Even in the pit of despair, however, he never ceased to meditate on the meaning of life, and particularly on the foundation of the existing economic system and social structure. In his despair and agony he decided to renounce everything, his family and his own self too. For a while he lived like a beggar or hermit, without paying heed as to how to feed himself; still he was able somehow to live. One day he picked up grains of rice on the streets and sustained life on that. Like a flash an idea came to him, that man lives not by the virtue of his own merit, but by the free gift of Nature, and that what he once had deemed to be his work and possession was not in fact his own but a gift of grace. Then he served a friend's family by taking up menial work and claimed nothing in return but a bare living. There he himself was surprised to see the profoundly edifying effect of his humble service upon himself as well as upon the whole family of his friend, including the servants, through the bountiful spirit of ardor in mutual service and the profound sentiment of mutual indebtedness with which his life inspired the whole circle.

This experience, together with his meditation in solitude, accomplished a revolutionary conversion in his spirit and life, and thereafter, for now more than ten years, he has continued to live up to his principle of non-possession and service, serving any family which would receive him as such. He does not know how to name his religion or principle or his God, nor does he try to formulate his teaching. But he shows his Buddhist heritage in often calling the final resort of his life the "Universal Light," the source of all being, the giver of grace and gift. His life of humility is in itself his faith in the Light, and he admonishes his fellows to live the life of service rendered to all fellow beings, and therefore to the Light. He thus com-

bines in his life and faith the parts of Mary and Martha, and in that respect differs from the Shinshu pietists, his former fellows, who denounce any work as an obstacle to piety. His religion can be formulated in one way or another, as one of his fellows has formulated it in Buddhist terms; but he is better seen in his own life than in teaching, and many of his fellows are those who saw him and have adopted his way of living. Instead of describing his life, however, let us quote from his discourses. He says, for example:

When you review the life of Buddha, or Christ, or any other sage or founder of religion, you cannot but be struck by their conviction that life is secure without possession. You would say that it is a mere Utopia in the world of modern civilization to live without property; but you think so simply because you have little faith in the Universal Light.

The life of my fellows will be a living testimony, and I am convinced of the truth [of my principle that the desire for possession is the root of all evil].

First, renounce everything, property or claim. Accumulate nothing for tomorrow. Be ready to renounce even your life at any moment. Therein you will find an unspeakable satisfaction.

Heaven and earth, mountains and streams, all are Buddha himself. It does not matter who does or does not possess this or that. All belongs to all. The whole cosmos is a totality, subject neither to increase nor to decrease. When I have realized this, I have seen the Universal Light face to face.

Another passage speaks of humility:

Buddha left his royal palace and went about alms-begging. Christ washed the feet of his disciples. Laotse, St. Francis, Tosui, and many other spiritual leaders lived the life of humility (each in his own way).

Humility embraces everything.

Humility may be compared to earth which is the mother of all.

Humility bears all and gives to all. . . .

Destruction creeps into every one who takes pride in his own achievements, because the desire for achievement implies possession and monopolization.

When you examine the depth of the matter, all the conflicts of human life are rooted in egoism.

Renounce your own interests and serve others, in penitence, the penitence that the root of all evil and sin is in yourself.

So train yourself that you can serve anybody in any way, when requested; and therein polish the lustre of your own soul.

This is humility and the beginning of the life of true fellowship.

These are some points in Nishida's principle of life, and his fellowship consists in an absolutely free community, where any

one may come and go according to his own idea and will. Nishida has a cottage among the hills in Kyoto, which furnishes abode to those who come. Those men and women meet in the morning for prayer or confession, then every one of them goes to any place where work is requested, and comes back to the cottage in the evening, or may stay out, according to circumstances. The cottage is named the "Garden of One Lantern,"⁴ and may be called a convent; but no rule is imposed upon the life of fellowship, every one is free to think or work according to his choice, the only condition being a sincere conviction in the life of service and non-possession. The cottage in Kyoto is in no way a centre for the movement, because many another Garden of One Lantern may grow, where the fellows are found. In fact, one of the houses of One Lantern is being organized as an infirmary, and other similar houses may come into existence.

Nishida, who was once an industrial enterpriser, seems to have much organizing talent, and his operation of a mine started a few years ago is a matter of keen interest to all observers. Some of his fellows have organized factories, somewhat after the manner of a coöperative society. They insist on non-possession and regard these properties as a mandate entrusted to them for serving mankind. This is quite natural to the apostle of the Kingdom of Non-possession, because his new life emerged out of his doubts about the existing social structure, and his principles have finally to attack the economic problems of the day. It is yet to be seen how Nishida's "Community for Propagating the Light" (*Senko-sha*), as he calls his industrial organization, will proceed in its enterprises; but we see here one of the attempts at establishing fundamental connections between the economic and the spiritual life of mankind.

Another point to be noted is the close sympathetic ties between Buddha and St. Francis of Assisi conceived by these

⁴ The Japanese name is *Itto-en*, which is derived from the story of a poor woman who brought only one lantern in dedication to a great festival in memory of Buddha, where the rich brought thousands. The story further says that the one lantern of the poor woman was brighter than any of the numerous ones, because Buddha valued the piety of the woman more than that of the others.

fellows. In fact, Nishida started his new life quite spontaneously, even apart from his Buddhist heritage, but his conversion gradually revealed to him the life of Buddha in a new light, and similarly attracted his attention to the Christian saint who served lepers and preached to birds and wolves. Nishida says in one passage that if he should meet the Seraphic Saint even today, he would ask him how he would organize industrial life so as to solve the fundamental questions of social life. It will be evident to every observer how similar is the life of Nishida to that of Buddha or St. Francis; and it is natural to Nishida, a modern man, that he is not proceeding to create a monastic life like his predecessors, but a community life having a background of economic organization. But as his spiritual principle is a revolutionary force in religion, so his economic idea and enterprise are challenging the modern world by a radical reconstruction.

Thus we may call Nishida's life a modern Buddhist-Franciscan movement; and here we see the two bright suns of humanity meeting in Japan and in process of fusion into one light and heat, — the sun of wisdom from the Sakya clan, who shone out of the slopes of the Himalaya, and the sun of love, of whom Dante sang in adoration that he had arisen from among the pure lotus flowers in the waters of the Ganges. Whether the "One Lantern" will really "propagate the Light," that remains to be seen by future historians.

LITERATURE ON CHURCH HISTORY

IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND THE
SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1914-1920

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II. THE MEDIAEVAL CHURCH

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAB	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
AGW	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
BGPhM	Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, hrg. von Clemens Bäumker. Münster, Aschendorff.
BKGMR	Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters und Renaissance. Leipzig and Berlin, Teubner.
BKMR	Beiträge zur Kultur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, hrg. von Walter Götz. Leipzig and Berlin.
DTh	Divus Thomas. Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie. Hrg. von Ernst Commer. Vienna, Mekhitaristendruckerei.
FLDG	Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte. Paderborn, Schöningh.
FNFBA	Foreningen til norske fortidsmindesterkers bevaring.
FrSt	Franziskanische Studien. Quartalschrift. Münster i. W., Aschendorff.
FrThSt	Freiburger Theologische Studien Freiburg i. B., Herder.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft.
HSt	Historische Studien, hrg. von Emil Ebering. Berlin, Ebering.
KA	Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen, hrg. von Ulrich Stutz. Stuttgart.
KÅ	Kyrkohistoriska Årsskrift. Upsala.
KIT	Kleine Texte, hrg. von H. Lietzmann. Bonn, Marcus und Weber.
MGFr.	Monumenta Germaniae Franciscana. Düsseldorf, Schwann.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
MIOeG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung.
NADG	Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.
NAKG	Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis.
NHT	Norsk Historisk Tidskrift.
NoTT	Norsk Teologisk Tidskrift.
OChr	Oriens Christianus.
PhJbG	Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft.
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift.
RSiT	Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte. Münster, Aschendorff.
SAB	Sitzungsberichte. Academy of Berlin.
SAH	Sitzungsberichte. Academy of Heidelberg.
SAM	Sitzungsberichte. Academy of Munich.
SAW	Sitzungsberichte. Academy of Vienna.
SRG	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum.
StMGB	Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige. Salzburg.
StZ	Stimmen der Zeit.
ThLz	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift. Tübingen.
ThRev	Theologische Revue. Münster.
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
VKSM	Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar München. Munich, Lentner.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZkTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie. Innsbruck.
ZSchwKG	Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte.

I. GENERAL

Bernheim, Ernst, Mittelalterliche Zeitanschauungen in ihrem Einfluss auf Politik und Geschichtsschreibung. Teil 1: Die Zeitanschauungen. iv, 233 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1918. — *Deussen, Paul*, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Religionen. 2. Band, 2. Abt.: Die biblisch-mittelalterliche Philosophie. 2. Aufl. xvi, 530 pp. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1919. — *Göller, Emil*, Die Periodisierung der Kirchengeschichte und die epochale Stellung des Mittelalters zwischen dem christlichen Altertum und der Neuzeit. Rektoratsrede. 67 pp. Freiburg i. B., Guenther, 1919. — *Hauck, Albert*, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands. 5. Band, 2. Hälfte. viii, 583–1212 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920. — *Holmquist, Hjalmar*, Den senare Medeltidens Kyrkohistoria. xxviii, 232 pp. Stockholm, 1914. — *Kern, Fritz*, Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie. xxxii, 445, 266* pp. Leipzig, Köhler, 1914. — *Manser, Gallus*, Die Geisteskrise des XIV. Jahrhunderts. 34 pp. Freiburg i. d. Schw., St. Paulus-Druckerei, 1915. — *Naegle, August*, Kirchengeschichte Boehmens. 1. Band. Einführung des Christentums in Böhmen. Two parts, xiv, 226 and xiii, 597 pp. Vienna and Leipzig, W. Braumiller, 1915, 1918. — *Paasche, Fredrik*, Kristendom og Kvad. En studie i norron middelalder. 180 pp. Christiania, Aschehoug, 1914. — *Ruville, Albert von*, Die Kreuzzüge (Bücherei der Kultur und Geschichte, hrg. von S. Hausmann 5). vii, 370 pp.; Bonn and Leipzig, Kurt Schröder, 1916. — *Ueberweg, Friedrich*, Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. 2. Teil: Die mittlere oder die patristische und scholastische Zeit. 10. vollständig neubearbeitete Aufl. hrg. von *Matthias Baumgartner*. x, 658, 266 pp. Berlin, E. S. Mittler, 1915. — *Wiegand, Friedrich*, Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters (Evang.-theol. Bibliothek, hrg. von Bernhard Bess). viii, 276 pp. Leipzig, Quelle u. Meyer, 1919. — *Schubert, Hans von*, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter. xxiv, 808 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1921. — Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge. Hrg. von den Akademien der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Wien usw. I. Oesterreich. 1. Band: Niederösterreich. Bearb. von *Theodor Gottlieb*. xvi, 615 pp. Vienna, Holzhausen, 1915. II. Deutschland und die Schweiz. 1. Band: Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur. Bearb. von *Paul Lehmann*. xviii, 599 pp. Munich, Beck, 1918. — *Lehmann, Paul*, Quellen zur Feststellung und Geschichte mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken, Handschriften und Schriftsteller (HJG 40, 1920, 44–105); Mittelalterliche Handschriften des kgl. Bayerischen Nationalmuseums (SAM, 1916, 4). 66 pp. — *Westman, Knut B.*, Den svenska kyrkans utveckling från St Bernhards tidelvarf tin Innocentius III. Utgifren på foranstaltande af kyrkohistoriska foreningen med anledning af Uppsala arkasates. 750-års jubileum. xii, 301 pp. Stockholm, Norstadt, 1915.

In the introduction to my first article (HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, October 1921) I have already remarked that it is neither necessary nor possible to present the literature of mediaeval church history with the fullness which is desirable for the history of the early church. In a general survey every-

thing that has only a local interest must be omitted, and even in what remains the wheat must be winnowed from the chaff. The reviewer need not complain of lack of material; indeed what is valuable greatly exceeds in amount what is unimportant.¹ This is especially true of those comprehensive treatises which deal either with the Middle Ages as a whole or with special periods.

Wilhelm Möller's Church History belonged to the series of theological textbooks in which such celebrated works as Holtzmann's New Testament Theology and Harnack's History of Dogma appeared. After the author's death *von Schubert* published the first volume in a new edition (1902) and he has long been engaged on a revision of the second. What he has now given us is, however, much more than that; it is a wholly new book, the original purpose of which is not even suggested by a subtitle or by the inclusion of the work in the series of theological textbooks. Moreover he has taken as his subject not the entire mediaeval period but only the history of Catholicism in the early Middle Ages, that is in the formative time. He divides this into two parts: (1) the time of reshaping, organization, and missions; (2) the time when all the forces of the church, both old and new, were for the first time fused in the Frankish empire of the Carolingians, which he follows to its fall about the year 900. Von Schubert defines the "theme" of the Middle Ages as "the marriage of the Christian with the German world," and he brings out the point that "in the West the melody to this theme was played, in the East only the accompaniment." It should be added that in his presentation the "accompaniment" is far from being slighted, for the history of the Byzantine church is treated with the same attention and the same mastery of detail as that of the Germanic-Roman church.

¹ In so large a subject, it is impossible to form an independent judgment on all the books and articles, especially for one who, like the present reviewer, has as his special field in the narrower sense early church history only. I ought to say, however, that all the German and Austrian publications commented on have passed through my hands. To the valuable notices of NADG I am especially indebted. For the Scandinavian literature Professor Valdemar Ammundsen of Copenhagen, Mr. Hilding Pleijel in Lonhoda, and Professor S. Mowinkel in Christiania, and for the Dutch, Pastor Bakhuizen van den Brink of Nieuw Dortrecht have given me valuable assistance.

The centre of interest of the book is however found in the latter, as anyone would expect who knows von Schubert's scholarly writings. The great value of the new book lies in its complete independence. Nothing is taken over on authority; everything rests on this author's own research and verification, a verification urgently needed, as every fellow-worker is aware. The preliminary materials were at hand in a long series of editions, monographs, and critical miscellanies, scattered over the whole field, but they required to be arranged and systematized; and the inestimable merit of von Schubert's work is that the systematizing touch nowhere fails. Where all sections are treated with such uniform thoroughness, it is difficult to select special instances, but it may be remarked that the beginnings of the British (Celtic and Anglo-Saxon) church are especially illuminated. The most striking part of the whole is comprised in the concluding sections on ecclesiastical conditions in the Carolingian empire:—legal sources; the church as an economic and political power; the hierarchy; monasticism; forms of worship; the church as an educational institution; and the church as an agent of civilization. That the introductory matter includes a survey of the state of civilization and of religion among the heathen Germans is also useful, for in our textbooks such summaries are either entirely lacking or written from an obsolete point of view. Heinrich Boehmer's excellent article on this subject, which appeared in the *ThStKr* for 1913, was not available for von Schubert's use, as the first part of his book was already in print at that time; but it should now be used as supplementing his work. — The second half of the fifth volume of *Hauck's Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, the first part of which appeared in 1911, has now been published from the material left at his death (April 7, 1918). The subject is "Germany during the struggle of the papacy to establish its supremacy in the church." This is treated under five headings: (1) the concentration of ecclesiastical administration in the curia; (2) Germany and the papal schism; (3) the Wicliffite movement in Bohemia; (4) the end of the schism, the suppression of Wicliffism, and the reform of the church; (5) the religion of the Hussites and the overthrow of the con-

ciliar theory. Unfortunately the last chapter is incomplete, and the history of the Council of Basel is not taken up. According to Boehmer's postscript, Hauck left only some notes on this, and in his will expressly forbade making use of them, so that this great work, on which so eminent a scholar spent more than an ordinary lifetime with untiring devotion and great success, remains a torso. It is, however, assured of a supplement in the spirit of its author, for Boehmer is working on a continuation, and will connect with it the history leading up to the Reformation. To say anything in praise or even in appreciation of this world-famous work would be like carrying owls to Athens. It is sufficient to emphasize the way in which Hauck in this last volume as in the earlier ones keeps the history of the church in Germany in the light of the general history of the church, and does this with the unerring judgment which we have so long admired. It is inevitable that in so extensive a work there should be much to challenge criticism, and this has been offered by Emil Göller of Freiburg in the Breisgau (Catholic), in *ThRev* (20, 1921, col. 249). But even he has to acknowledge that Hauck, though not always detached from his Protestant standpoint, still tries to preserve an impartial judgment. Hauck's fairness is especially evident in his criticism of Hus, who has hitherto been represented in far too favorable a light, out of sympathy either for the Czech or for the precursor of Luther.

In his book on the Crusades, *Ruville* has set his aim high. He undertakes, without losing himself in a maze of original investigation, to give a straightforward account, intelligible to everyone, of the origins, connections, and fundamental relations of the whole movement, gathering the results of countless separate studies into a single brilliant picture. He has made an interesting book, but his point of view is too little that of the historian and too much that of orthodoxy. A writer who cites Luke 21, 24 to show that Jerusalem was predestined not to remain permanently in the possession of the Christians, can hardly expect his historical views to be taken seriously. *Ruville's* book is mentioned here because it is one of a series

which claims to furnish educated laymen with scholarly and trustworthy instruction.

The main purpose of *Naegle* in his extensive and scholarly work is to counteract the one-sided Czechish view of Bohemian church history. In the first volume he seeks to combat the constant efforts of the Czech theological party to find connections for the christianizing of Bohemia exclusively in the East, entirely ignoring German influence. Hence he is continually forced into controversy, not always agreeable reading but not to be overlooked by the critic. His conclusions are so convincing that it is to be hoped they will gradually be accepted by students of the subject, in spite of irritated patriotic feelings. The narrative is carried to the end of the tenth century and ends with the founding of the first Bohemian bishopric at Prague. The author treats in special detail the appointment of Saint Wenceslaus (†935) whom, although he can be shown to have sided with the church of Regensburg on the most important ecclesiastical questions, the Czech historians honor as the patron saint of the Slavic church. — With the aid of fragmentary, local sources *Westman* gives a very interesting account of the Swedish church in the time of St. Bernard, Frederick Barbarossa, and Innocent III, presenting the relation of the development in Sweden to the movements of contemporary European history. He distinguishes between two conflicting tendencies in Sweden, the one interested in the universal church with Gregorian claims, the other, more conservative, influenced by nationalistic motives. Other scholars doubt the correctness of this distinction.

Wiegand's *Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* belongs to the same series of textbooks as the book by Arnold discussed in our first article (p. 292). As the mediaeval history of dogma usually receives scant attention in a course of instruction, a thorough treatment of the subject in textbook form is welcome. The modern period is treated somewhat too superficially. — *Ueberweg's* *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* is already so familiar to scholars in both hemispheres that a new edition needs no recommendation, and if I call at-

tention especially to the revision of the second volume,² which is of interest to students of church history and the history of doctrine, it is for the sake of giving deserved recognition to the editor of the volume, Professor *Baumgartner* of Breslau. The extent of his contribution is shown even by an external comparison with the last previous edition (by M. Heinze, 1905). The book has grown in size from 400 to 924 pages. The list of new works on the history of philosophy in the patristic and scholastic periods, occupying over 200 pages, is in itself an astonishing achievement, while the contents of the book itself have gained very considerably, both on the bibliographical and on the critical and expository sides. It might almost be said that the virtue of completeness has been carried too far. It is certain that in no language does any repertory exist even approximately so complete and so trustworthy as this new *Ueberweg*. Unfortunately I must add that by the time this notice appears the book will be almost out of print, and whether under present conditions the publishers will have the courage to incur the expense of another printing, is of course uncertain. Hence the reader who wishes to own a copy will do well to secure it as soon as possible. As a conspectus of the present state of the study, it is an indispensable aid, both for the beginner and for the practised scholar. — *Deussen's* General History of Philosophy is also of interest to theologians, being written "with especial regard to religions." The author does not, to be sure, recognize in mediaeval philosophy, as he does in the Hindoo, Greek, and biblical philosophies, an entirely new creation of the human spirit, but only, as he aptly expresses it, a projection of the New Testament teaching upon the well-prepared field of Greek philosophy. Under these conditions we cannot expect any substantial contribution to our own spiritual life, but it is of considerable interest for ecclesiastical history to trace the efforts by which the patristic and mediaeval philosophers first sought to grasp the ideas of Christianity genetically, on

² Of the first volume, *Die Philosophie des Altertums*, the eleventh edition appeared in 1920, edited by *Karl Praechter*, the well-known writer on later Greek philosophy. The period of Hellenistic and Roman philosophy, peculiarly important for theologians, is the part to which the editor, as was natural in view of the field of his own studies, has given special attention in his revision.

the basis of Neoplatonism, and then fitted it into an ample frame drawn from the philosophy of Aristotle, a process which resulted in the imposing systems of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. A special merit of Deussen's presentation is his vivid portrayal of the influence which the culture of the Moslem and Jewish worlds exerted on Christian philosophy.

Fundamental questions of general interest are touched upon in two works. In my first article (p. 327) I dwelt with special emphasis on the book of Ernst Troeltsch on St. Augustine and Christian antiquity. In contrast to his attitude, which separates Augustine as much as possible from the Middle Ages by making him the "consummator of christianized antiquity," *Bernheim* tries to show the strong influence of genuinely Augustinian ideas on the development of the Middle Ages. This was not first suggested to him by Troeltsch, for as long ago as 1897 he began the discussion with a valuable article on political conceptions of the Middle Ages in the light of Augustine's views, and since then, as professor of history at Greifswald, he has continued to further this view through the dissertations of numerous pupils.³ This book brings together ideas that have long been held, and is by no means a polemic against Troeltsch, whose views, indeed, he only takes up occasionally. His purpose is to give his own view, based upon the sources, and relating not so much to Augustine as to the ideas derived from him, or influenced by him, the effect of which can be traced in the politics and historiography of the Middle Ages. He distinguishes two groups of ideas, — (1) eschatological, culminating in the conception of Antichrist (iron age) and the Prince of Peace (golden age), and (2) those concerning the relation of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. How far both groups are dependent on Augustine is shown in his first chapter, which is an admirable analysis of the controlling ideas of Augustine's most important work, the *Civitas Dei*. These are: the two *civitates* and their modifications; the virtues and vices, especially *humilitas* and *superbia*; the ideas of *pax* and *justitia*, *oboedientia* and *dominatio*, *libertas* and *servitus*, *rex justus* and *rex iniquus*. These

³ A list of twenty-two of these studies is given in NADG 41, 1919, 327, but it does not include all.

ideas need only be named for anyone at all acquainted with the sources to recognize their dominating rôle in mediaeval thought. Bernheim has handled the vast material in masterly fashion, and there can be no doubt that his work will stimulate the efforts of other scholars in the same direction. Such we have already in *H. Hermelink's* article on the *civitas terrena* (Festgabe für Harnack, Tübingen, Mohr, 1921). The continuation of Bernheim's book promised by the title has not yet appeared. — *Kern's* book is noteworthy for fullness of ideas. It deals with a problem that was of the deepest significance to humanity in the Middle Ages and has kept its interest down to the present day, — the mutual relation of the divine right of kings (*Gottesgnadentum*) and the right of resistance (*Widerstandsrecht*). In analyzing this relation, Kern aims primarily at showing the roots from which it sprang, and for this we must go back to a time in which the watchwords "divine right" and "popular sovereignty," "resistance" and "non-resistance," had not yet been invented, although the underlying ideas were implied in the battle cries of parties. The path leads to two originally separate worlds of thought: on the one hand the doctrine of the church as held in late antiquity and in the Middle Ages, and the beginnings of the formation of the German states on the other. These two worlds, by successive battle and truce, by mutual attraction and repulsion, in the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth centuries, prepared the way for later ideas about the relation of ruler and ruled, and created the bases of the theories of absolutism and constitutionalism. In the formula *dei gratia*, which had already in early Carolingian times been adopted from the official style of the Frankish bishops into that of the kings,⁴ the authority conferred by the consecration of the church was united with the special supernatural power which, according to the Germanic conception of inherited right (*Geblutsrecht*), was inherent in the *stirps regia* — and originally in this as such, not in the individual. Only through the gradual development of a law of inheritance in place of popular election from among

⁴ For the origin of this formula consult especially *Karl Schmitz*, *Ursprung und Geschichte der Devotionsformeln bis zu ihrer Aufnahme in die fränkische Königsurkunde* (KA 81, 1913). xviii, 192 pp. Stuttgart, Enke, 1913.

the members of the royal house was the way opened for the idea that, just as in the ecclesiastical theory of "tradition," the grace of God is conveyed directly from one person to another. But the *dei gratia* was now met by a limitation from the claim of the church, as the conveyer of all divine grace, to sit in judgment even on the king, and this claim was supported both in theory and in practice by St. Augustine's conception of the *rex justus* and *rex iniquus* (*tyrannus*). The Germanic conception of the mutual relation of fidelity between ruler and people, with the conviction that even the king must yield to the supreme power of the law, came into conflict with this claim, while on the other hand the Christian doctrine of obedience to authority favored the growth of the absolutist theory, supported by the conceptions of Roman Law and the ancient tradition of the deification of emperors. Over against all these tendencies mediaevalism at its height (see Manegold of Lauterbach's very interesting discussions in the time of the contest over investitures) was fostering the democratic principle of the sovereignty of the people;⁵ and finally out of the concurrent authority and responsibility of the higher nobility (cf. Magna Charta) grew the union of royal rights and popular rights in the constitutional theory. Into this chaos of heterogeneous ideas Kern has very skilfully tried to introduce some kind of order. But the book is not easy reading; a clearly written and well arranged text is overloaded with a mass of notes which remind one of Carlyle's Dryasdust. The Sage of Chelsea would also have shaken his head over the lack of an index. Yet these notes, which sometimes grow to the proportions of essays, contain so much valuable matter that they well repay serious study.

In connection with these two important books two rectoral addresses by Catholic theologians deserve mention. The main subject of Gölner's address is the question of the time-limits of the Middle Ages. He sides with those scholars who put the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages in the time of

⁵ For the late mediaeval development of this idea, which lies outside of our province, see Ernst Schoenman, *Die Idee der Volkssouveränität im mittelalterlichen Rom* (Frankfurter historische Studien, hrsg. von Georg Kuntzel und Fritz Kern, n.s., 2). Frankfurt dissertation. 128 pp. Leipzig, Köhler, 1919.

Gregory the Great. The merit of his own work lies in his study of the influence of the Orient on the Occident, and this not in general terms but by concrete examples, in which task his vast erudition in sources and in literature stands him in good stead. Noteworthy is the new light shed upon the beginnings of mediaeval penitential practice, a subject which he intends to treat more fully in another connection. The last section, after considering the ecclesiastical higher culture of the Middle Ages, seeks to determine the channels through which the currents of Catholic influence have passed into the modern world. — *Manser* starts with the proposition that the real collapse of mediaeval thought must be dated earlier than 1500. The great crisis falls rather in the fourteenth century, when the classic edifice of the ecclesiastical conception built up during the previous century was shaken to its foundations by searching and all-pervading monistic, subjective, antimetaphysical tendencies, which undermined the distinction and the harmony of faith and knowledge, philosophy and theology, church and state, knowing and willing, metaphysical and empirical knowledge. To the elucidation of these matters *Manser* contributes many discriminating observations.

Of the monumental work undertaken by the united German Academies, namely as complete a publication as possible of the catalogues of the mediaeval libraries of central Europe, the first volumes have appeared. *Gottlieb* edits the catalogues of Lower Austria, and here, since the region was colonized by the church relatively late, the stress of the work lies on the late Middle Ages. Each section has an introduction giving the history of the library to which the text relates. The extreme accuracy of the work is praised by specialists in the field. The same is true of the work of *Lehmann*, who publishes the catalogues of the bishoprics of Constance and Chur. This volume is valuable because it contains the original very complete catalogues of St. Gall and Reichenau. For the sources specialists are referred to his article in HJG. The catalogue of the manuscripts in the Bavarian National Museum is useful, although it includes only the Latin and certain mediaeval German manuscripts.

II. EARLY MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIANITY

a. Sources

Aldhelmi Opera. Ed. *Rudolfus Ehwald*. Fasc. 2 and 3 (MGH, Auct. ant. XV. 2, 3). xxv, 324-765 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1919. — Arbeonis episcopi Frisingensis vitae SS. Haimbhammi et Corbiniani. Ed. *Bruno Krusch* (SRG). viii, 244 pp. Hanover, Hahn, 1920. — S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae. Ed. *Michael Tangl* (Epistolae selectae in usum schol. ex MGH separatim editae, tom. I). xl, 321 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1916. — *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici*. Ed. *Bruno Krusch* et *Wilhelm Levison* (MGH, Script. rer. meroving. VIII. 1, 2). x, 902 pp. Hanover, Hahn, 1919, 1920. — Rhythmi aevi merovingici et carolini. Ed. *Carolus Strecker* (MGH, Poet. lat. med. aev., tom. IV. pars. ii, 1. pp. 445-900). Berlin, Weidmann, 1914. — *Brüning, Gertrud*, Adamnans Vita Columbae und ihre Ableitungen. Bonn dissertation. (Zeitschr. f. kelt. Philologie 11, 1917, 213-304). — *Müller, Karl Otto*, Eine neue Handschrift der Vita s. Bonifatii von Otloh (NADG 41, 1919, 691-704). — *Peitz, Wilhelm*, Rimbarts Vita Anskarii in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt (Zeitschr. des Vereins f. hamburgische Geschichte 22, 1918, 135-167). — *Strecker, Karl*, Zu den Quellen für das Leben des heiligen Ninian (NADG 43, 1920, 1-26).

The Monumenta Germaniae Historica has now a full century to look back on.⁶ Since 1826 the thick volumes, at first in folio and later in quarto, have been the indispensable equipment of generations of scholars. Even during the War the staff kept at work, and several substantial volumes were published, among them the seventh and last volume of the *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici*, edited by *Krusch* and *Levison*. It contains seventeen Lives, of varying length and value. The most important are those of St. Germain Auxerrois (†448), written by the presbyter Constantine at Lyons about 500, that of St. Germain de Paris (†576), and that of Bishop Wili-brord of Utrecht (†739), the apostle to the Frisians, written by Alcuin. The volume contains also, in more than 150 pages of fine print, an account of all the hagiographic manuscripts used in preparing it, and some additional material for vols. I-VI. — *Ehwald* has finished his monumental edition of the works of Aldhelm of Malmesbury (†709) begun in 1909. This concluding section contains the poetic version of the *De virginitate*, some letters from and to Aldhelm, five charters granting privi-

⁶ A history of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, written by Professor *Harry Bruns* at the request of the managing committee, was published in 1921 as vol. 42 of NADG (xvi, 769 pp.).

leges to the monastery of Malmesbury from the time of Aldhelm — the only genuine ones out of a great number that have come down — and finally some *carmina rhythmica* from Aldhelm's school. There are full indices, the linguistic index being especially valuable. — *Strecker* publishes some rhythmical poems of various content by Gallic and Italian writers whose names are lost. They are in part on biblical subjects, in part hymns to saints. His book includes also an *Exhortatio poenitendi* which is generally ascribed to Isidore of Seville but is certainly of later date; a *Lamentum poenitentiale* by the same poet; three considerable poetical versions of the *Vita Eligii* (Bishop of Noyon) and the *Passiones* of SS. Christopher and Justin Martyr, and finally a revision of the so-called *Cena Cypriani*, made by a certain Johannes Diaconus who lived about 900. This volume also contains much that is of general interest for the history of civilization.

Among the additions to the *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum*, *Tangl's* critical edition of the letters of Boniface and his pupil Lullus deserves first place.⁷ *Tangl* has newly collated the chief manuscripts (at Munich, Carlsruhe, and Vienna), and draws important conclusions as to the history of the manuscripts and of the collections on which they are based. His grounds are given in his "Studies for a new edition of the letters of St. Boniface" (NADG 40, 1916, 639-790; 41, 1917, 23-101). The apparatus includes brief notes on the subject matter as well as textual criticism. — *Fräulein Brüning* has proved the dependence of Adamnan's *Vita Columbae* (†597) upon earlier lives of saints, such as the *Vita Antonii*, the *Vita Martini*, and the dialogues of Sulpicius Severus and of Gregory the Great, although in her study of the history of the tradition she has not reached any definite conclusions. The shorter form of the Life seems to have been composed in the ninth century on German soil in the region of St. Gall and Reichenau. The *Vita Columbae* by the so-called Cummeheus, which is printed in an appendix, is a comparatively late epitome of the original *Vita*. — *Müller* describes and discusses a fragment preserved

⁷ On the editions of the Chronicle of Adam of Bremen and the letters of Gregory VII, see sections V and IV below.

in the city archives of Ludwigsburg of an eleventh century manuscript of the Life of Boniface by Otloh, a monk of St. Emmeran about 1050. As no other known manuscript is earlier than the twelfth century, the fragment is of great importance for the history of manuscript tradition. — With less success *Peitz* has tried to prove that the shorter form of the Life of St. Ansgarius, hitherto usually considered an extract from the longer Life, is the original text. His theory, which has attracted much attention, fails to convince because the longer version, which on his view must have suffered interpolation, can be proved to be linguistically uniform throughout. He may have been led to espouse the cause of the shorter version by the fact that it contains the Hamburg papal documents in the form, hitherto regarded as spurious, according to which the legatine district of the Hamburg church extended to Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe islands. We shall see below (V.a) that *Peitz* has tried to prove this to be the original form. *Wilhelm Levison*, enters the lists on the opposite side, with a well-informed review in the same journal (NADG 43, 1919, 89). — Considering the importance for his own time of Saint Ninian, apostle to the Picts (†401, at Candida Casa), it is to be regretted that we know so little of what he really did. We have only the short notices in Bede and the biography by Abbot Ailred from about the middle of the twelfth century. *Strecker* draws attention to certain poems about Ninian, preserved in a manuscript at Bamberg, which Alcuin received from his pupils at York but which originated at Candida Casa. Ailred did not know these *Miracula Nyniae episcopi*, but both his biography and the poems seem to go back to an early Vita which must have been in the library of the monastery.

b. *Monographs*

Bendel, Franz J., Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der Abtei Fulda (HJG 88, 1917, 758–772). — *Boehmer, Heinrich*, Zur Geschichte des Bonifatius (Zeitschr. des Vereins f. hessische Gesch. u. Landeskunde 50, n.f. 40, 1917, 171–215). — *Hautkappe, Franz*, Ueber die altdeutschen Beichten und ihre Beziehungen zu Caesarius von Arles (Forschungen und Funde, hrsg. von Franz Jostes 4, 5). vi, 133 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1917. — *Hörle, Georg Heinrich*, Frühmittelalterliche Mönchs- und Klerikerbildung in Italien. Geistliche Bildungs Ideale und Bildungseinrichtungen vom 6. bis 9.

Jahrhundert (FrThSt 13). xii, 87 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1914. — *Koebner, Richard*, Venantius Fortunatus. Seine Persönlichkeit und seine Stellung in der Geschichte der geistigen Kultur des Merowinger-Reiches (BKGMR 22, 1915). iv, 150 pp. — *Koeniger, Albert Michael*, Die Militärseelsorge der Karolingerzeit (VKSM 4, 7, 1918). — *Laux, Johann Joseph*, Der heilige Columban. Sein Leben und seine Schriften. xvi, 290 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1919. — *Nottarp, Hermann*, Die Bistumserrichtung in Deutschland im 8. Jahrhundert (KA 96, 1920). vii, 259 pp. — *Schubert, Hans von*, Die sogenannten Slavenapostel Constantin und Methodius. Ein grundlegendes Kapitel aus den Beziehungen Deutschlands zum Südosten (SAH 1916, 1). 32 pp. Heidelberg, Winter. — *Tangl, Michael*, Bonifatiusfragen (AAB 1919, 2). 41 pp. — *Voigt, Karl*, Die karolingische Klosterpolitik und der Niedergang des westfränkischen Königtums (KA 90, 91, 1917). xiv, 265 pp.

Hautkappe's subject is the early German penitential books, especially their definition, classification, and arrangement of the sins. He finds the same general scheme in all: first the decalogue and the fundamental sins, indicated by substantives, in the manner familiar since the time of the monastic writers; then offences against the church and the duties of love to one's neighbor, which are given in the form of complete sentences. He regards Caesarius of Arles (†542), the celebrated preacher, who had a strong influence on the early Middle Ages, as the originator of this scheme. The Benedictine rule had comparatively little effect. — *Hörle* describes the general condition of education among the clergy in Italy in the second half of the sixth century and the ideal of education embodied in the *Schola cantorum* of Gregory the Great. He shows that the clerical training there aimed at was superior to that of the Lombard church and that Monte Cassino, later so famous for learning, was at first less important. The standard of education among the Italian clergy was raised by Frankish and Irish influences, but it still remained limited to ecclesiastical learning, that is to a knowledge of the Scriptures and the Liturgy, until the Carolingian period. At the latter date the study of the liberal arts, which Augustine and Cassiodorus had required of the priesthood, was revived, and in the greater episcopal sees, especially at Rome, we may assume a well-developed system of education for the constantly increasing numbers of the clergy. Unfortunately this did not last long, for the general decline of

culture in Italy at the end of the ninth century and in the first half of the tenth brought to naught this gain. A valuable feature of Hörle's work is his abundant citation, from the original sources, of details, which is all the more welcome as the subject has not hitherto been treated in detail.

Koebner, in his monograph on Venantius Fortunatus, the only eminent poet of the Merovingian age, depends for his biographical material chiefly on Wilhelm Meyer's fundamental article in AGW (4, 1901, no. 5), but his critical estimate of the poet is entirely his own and is noteworthy. While Fortunatus is for Meyer the first of the mediaeval poets, Koebner sees in him chiefly the inheritor of the poetry and rhetoric of antiquity.⁸ In discussing the separate poems he tries to bring out their personal and intimate qualities, which critics have never been able completely to ignore, although most of them grant the poet only a gift for style. The youthful poems, composed at the court of King Sigibert, show a certain elevation of feeling in spite of their panegyric character, but the true poet was awakened in Fortunatus through his acquaintance with the pious ladies of Poitiers, Radegunde, Agnes, and the others, whose personal appearance, refinement, kindness, and saintliness made a deep impression on him. The doctrinal poem on Virginity, the famous prophecy of the downfall of Thuringia, the lament for Gelesuintha, the beautiful hymns *Pange* and *Vexilla*, as well as the Easter hymn, show him at the height of his poetical development, while the poems of his old age and the *Vita Martini* reveal the decline of his powers. Koebner's book, which deals with the history of the time as well, deserves special attention because there is not, to my knowledge, any work on Fortunatus in English which can claim scholarly thoroughness. — This is not the situation with *Laux's* Life of St. Columban. The author himself, under the pseudonym of George Metlake, published a monograph in honor of the centenary of the saint (†615) at Philadelphia in 1914, and in 1916 Mrs. Concannon's book, "St. Columbanus, a Study in Early

⁸ Heinrich Brewer has pointed out (ZkTh 13, 1919, 693-695) that the masses which Mone dates before the time of Constantine were composed by Fortunatus.

Irish Monasticism," appeared at Dublin. Laux sums up the admirable preliminary work of Greith, Gundlach, Hauck, and Seebass, and continues it, using all the available authorities and giving continuous quotations from them. His aim has been to present only what will bear searching criticism, and even where the scantiness of the evidence drives him to constructions, he tries to keep in accord with historical facts. He has given, not a conventional portrait of a saint for purposes of edification, but the genuine story of a particular saint.

In spite of such standard works as Hauck's Church History, something new still remains to be offered even on a dominant personality like Boniface, as *Boehmer's* article shows. It sheds much new light upon Boniface's activity in Hesse, and is remarkable for thoroughness even on geological and ethnological questions. He again proves conclusively that Boniface did not choose his tasks himself, but that they were assigned to him by the popes and sometimes by the Frankish and Bavarian princes; according to Boehmer only the attempted mission to Friesland and the idea of the Saxon mission were due to his own initiative. A useful chronological table of his life gives details and mentions pertinent contemporary events. That Boehmer sets the year of his death at 754 (not 755) would not require mention were it not that the wrong date is constantly reappearing. — Boehmer's sometimes very striking inferences from the original authorities have prompted an examination of them from the peculiarly competent hand of *Tangl* (see on his edition of the Letters, p. 336 above). His critical judgments cannot be discussed here, but special students of the subject should not overlook them. The second part of his article is a refutation of *Bendel's* attempt, on insufficient grounds, to treat the *Vita Sturmi* as a forgery written under the name of Eigil by a later hand. Tangl shows afresh that the testimony of the *Vita* as a contemporary document fully deserves credence in any study of the earliest history of Fulda.

In the well-known series of "Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen" edited by Professor Ulrich Stutz (formerly at Bonn, now at Berlin), two important studies of church law in early Carolingian times have appeared. *Nottarp* deals with the found-

ing of the earliest German bishoprics ⁹ and their legal connections. A well-qualified judge, A. M. Koeniger, in *ThRev* (20, 1921, 307), says that he has definitively and admirably summed up all that is to be said on the subject. — *Voigt's* work has also been favorably criticized, and deservedly so, for he elucidates sagaciously and thoroughly a subject of importance for general church history. He starts from the assumption that in the West-frankish kingdom in the later Carolingian period, that is from the time of Louis the Pious, episcopal sees were often granted by the kings to secular counts. The same was true of the monasteries, and in this case with a better legal claim, as these monasteries were often, by virtue of their foundation, royal monasteries, or *Eigenklöster*, to take an expression coined by Stutz and now in general use. Since these monastic establishments constituted an economic factor of no small importance, the policy of bestowing them as gifts was not without danger to the royal power. It weakened the ruler's economic and consequently his military strength, especially when the nobles contrived to unite several wealthy benefices in one hand and to use their revenues in working against the king, as was done, for example, by the lords of Anjou and Poitiers, or the dukes of Aquitaine. Whenever these great nobles appointed lay abbots as tenants of the monasteries, all connection with the royal power ceased, and the monastery became more and more the "private chapel" of the tenant. Tenure and lay abbacy became hereditary, and the tenure of such monasteries might even fall to women. This development was especially pronounced during the period of the Cluniac reform, that is, in the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. It is well known that the church profited greatly by this situation, as soon as the nobles clearly saw that the reform of ecclesiastical and monastic life meant the abolition of the system of lay abbots. To follow these ideas further lay outside our author's field, but the wealth of detail which he gives, and which is only imperfectly suggested in the preceding review, makes his work, both on the side of church history and on that

⁹ See also *Michael Tangl*, *Das Bistum Erfurt* (Geschichtliche Studien für Albert Hauck, 106-120, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916).



of "Kulturgeschichte," a valuable supplement to those of Hauck and von Schubert. — *Koeniger* has made an interesting study, based entirely on the original authorities, of military chaplaincies in Carolingian times. He treats both the legal and the practical side of the subject, citing for the former the decrees of councils and royal edicts, while he also depicts the well-qualified priests who accompanied the armies, equipped with their altars, prayer books, vestments, holy oil, and other requirements for services of worship, for preaching, and the sacrament of penance, as well as for the care of the sick, wounded, and dead. In an appendix he gives an unpublished military sermon from a manuscript in Munich and reprints one previously known but especially characteristic.

III. THE EMPIRE AND THE CHURCH

a. Sources

Eichmann, Eduard, Kirche und Staat. I: Von 750–1122. II: Von 1122 bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts (Quellensammlung zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht, hrsg. von E. Eichmann, 1, 2). viii, 126; viii, 182 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1912, 1914. — *Günter, Heinrich*, Die römischen Krönungseide der deutschen Kaiser (KIT 132, 1915). 51 pp. — *Scholz, Richard*, Marsilius von Padua: Defensor pacis, für Uebungszwecke bearbeitet. (Quellensammlung zur deutschen Geschichte, hrsg. von Erich Brandenburg und Gerhard Seeliger). viii, 131 pp. Leipzig and Berlin, Teubner, 1914. — *Scholz, Richard*, Unbekannte kirchenpolitische Streitschriften aus der Zeit Ludwigs des Baiern. Analysen und Texte. II. (Bibliothek des preuss. histor. Instituts in Rom 10). x, 611 pp. Rome, Loescher, 1914.

The collections of texts here listed are all valuable, either for scholars using the sources or, in some cases, for training such scholars. *Eichmann's* series is modelled after the "Quellensammlung zur deutschen Geschichte," in which Haller's "Quellen zur Geschichte der Entstehung des Kirchenstaats" and Bernheim's "Quellen zur Geschichte des Investiturstreits" appeared in 1907. An outline of the topics which he treats will show the wealth of the contents: Heft I: (1) alliance of the papacy with the Carolingians, the Ottos, and the Salian emperors; priest-kingdom and divine state; (2) legislation of the state church; (3) recognition and protection of the ecclesiastical organization; (4) coöperation of the church in the

tasks of the state; (5) anointing and coronation of the German kings and emperors; (6) transition to a hierocratic system (pseudo-Isidore, Gregory VII). Heft II: (1) the inner unity of *sacerdotium* and *imperium*; (2) the privileged position of the church; (3) the ecclesiastical position and rights of the emperor; (4) the struggle of empire and papacy; (5) hierocratism; (6) the reaction (Dante, Marsilius, Occam, etc.). The hundreds of original texts of various lengths here assembled afford large assistance for the work of scholars and their pupils, and the use of these pamphlets in practical exercises is earnestly to be recommended. For Heft III, see below, IV, a, *Ebers*. — *Günter's* collection of all the coronation oaths from Pepin (Promise of Ponthieu) to Frederick III (1452) and Charles V (1530) is useful for the same purpose. Historical clearness is served by considering not only the promises actually made under oath on the coronation day, but also what was in each case taken for granted and the accompanying circumstances. See also below under Monographs, *Eichmann*. — *Scholz's* book, the first volume of which appeared in 1911, is intended not for training investigators but to further future investigations. The second volume gives texts from sixteen authors, chiefly of the curialist party, including the important tractates of Conrad of Megenberg (*Planctus ecclesiae, Translatio Romani imperii, Tractatus contra Wilhelmum Occam*). Six important pieces are given from Occam himself, the only representative of the imperial party in the collection, among them being an attack on Ludwig's ally, Edward III of England. — The complete work of Marsilius of Padua is difficult of access, and until the critical edition in preparation for MGH appears, *Scholz's* selections from the *Defensor pacis* can serve as a good substitute, since they include everything of importance and fully meet the requirements of criticism.

b. Monographs

Büsseler, Gerda, Die Kaiserkrönungen in Rom und die Römer von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. xiv, 315 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1919. — *Brackmann, Albert*, Die Erneuerung der Kaiserwürde im Jahr 800 (Geschichtliche Studien für Albert Hauck, 121-134). Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. — *Bugge, Alexander*, Stat og Kirke i Norge, 1152-1164 (NHT, 5. ser., 3, 1916.

169-212). — *Caspar, Erich*, Pippin und die römische Kirche. Kritische Untersuchungen zum fränkisch-päpstlichen Bunde im VIII. Jahrhundert. viii, 208 pp. Berlin, Springer, 1914. — *Eichmann, Eduard*, Die römischen Eide der deutschen Könige (Zeitschr. f. Rechtsgesch. 37, Kanonistische Abteilung 6, 1916, 140-205); Studien zur Geschichte der abendländischen Kaiserkrönung. I. Die Beteiligung der lateranensischen Bischöfe (HJG 39, 1918-19, 714-730). — *Falk, Erik*, Marsilius af Padua (KÅ 18, 1917, 197-227). — *Günter, Heinrich*, Die Krönungseide der deutschen Kaiser im Mittelalter (Forschungen u. Versuche zur Gesch. des Mittelalters u. der Neuzeit. Festschrift für Dietrich Schäfer. 6-39). Jena, Fischer, 1916. — *Haller, Johannes*, Heinrich VI und die römische Kirche (MIOeG 35, 1914, 385-454, 545-669). — *Hoffmann, Heinrich*, Karl der Grosse im Bilde der Geschichtsschreibung des früheren Mittelalters (HSt 137). xvi, 116 pp. 1919. — *Hofmeister, Adolf*, Das Wormser Konkordat. Zum Streit um seine Bedeutung (Forsch. u. Versuche [vide supra, Günter], 64-148). — *Kozłowski, Jerzy von*, Kirche und Staat und Kirchenstaat nach dem heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux. Freiburg i. B. dissertation. vi, 122 pp. Posen, Wieniewicz, 1916. — *Moeller, Richard*, Ludwig der Bayer und die Kurie im Kampf um das Reich (HSt 116). xvi, 256 pp. 1914. — *Pijper, F.*, Strijd tusschen kerk en staat in het begin der veertiende eeuw. Bonifacius VIII contra Filips den Schoone (NAKG 14, 1917, 1-49). — *Posch, Andreas*, Die staats- und kirchen-politische Stellung Edgars von Admont (Veröffentlichungen der Görresgesellschaft, Sektion für Rechts- und Sozialwissenschaft 37). x, 130 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1920. — *Proehl, Hermann*, Beiträge zur Gesch. der Entstehung des Kirchenstaats. Diss. 98 pp. Halle, John, 1914. — *Rassow, Peter*, Pippin und Stephan II (ZKG 36, 1916, 494-502). — *Schönegger, Artur*, Die kirchenpolitische Bedeutung des "Constitutum Constantini" im früheren Mittelalter (ZkTh 42, 1918, 327-371, 541-590). — *Schrörs, Heinrich*, Untersuchungen zu dem Streite Kaiser Friedrichs I mit Papst Hadrian IV, 1157-1168. Univ. progr. Bonn. 72 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1916. — *Sperling, Eva*, Studien zur Geschichte der Kaiserkrönung. Freiburg i. B. dissertation. 63 pp. Stuttgart, Violet, 1918. — *Stieglitz, Leopold*, Die Staatstheorie des Marsilius von Padua (BKGMR 19, 1914). 56 pp.

Certain problems perennially tempt the pens of historians. One of these is the inquiry into the rise of the temporal power of the papacy, to which *Caspar* now devotes a comprehensive treatise. His thorough acquaintance with the Latin of early mediaeval documents enables him to interpret disputed formulas and expressions with certainty, and so to put his consideration of historical events on a firm footing. There was special need of such a sound explanation for the formula *sanctae ecclesiae dei rei publicae Romanorum*, which occurs frequently in the official documents of Popes Stephen II (752-757) and Stephen III (768-772) as well as in the *Vita Stephani*. *Caspar*

shows beyond doubt that grammatically *rei publicae* is dependent on *ecclesiae*, not vice versa, so that we must not say, as is often done, 'Roman state of the holy church,' but 'holy church of the Roman state.' Moreover, 'the Roman state' does not mean the *Inperium Romanum* in the ancient sense, but according to the usage of the time the *Romani* are the Italian nationals in distinction from the Lombards on the one hand and the Greeks on the other. Hence *res publica Romanorum* embodies the central thought of the program of national autonomy which Stephen II followed and to realize which he entered upon his alliance with the Frankish king. Subject to this *res publica Romanorum* is the holy church and Saint Peter himself. With these words the papal chancery created the formula by which it was hoped to establish as against King Pepin the claim upon the imperial territory. It was to this church that Pepin in the negotiations at Kiersy (754) guaranteed, rather than gave, possession of Istria, Venetia, the exarchate of Ravenna, and the duchy of Rome, besides Spoleto and Benevento. Caspar rightly lays great stress upon this distinction. In the treaty of Kiersy there is mention of *donationis pagina*, but in the usage of the time we are to understand only a general reference to the document. A gift or bestowal is out of the question until after the second Peace of Pavia (756). In that the Byzantine claims were expressly repudiated. Later, under Paul II (757-767), the policy of Rome established more and more firmly the claims based on that "gift." The product of their claims, so important for secular history, is the so-called Donation of Constantine, more correctly designated as the *constitutum Constantini*. This originated under Paul I, and is to be regarded, in Caspar's terms, as the final rupture in theory between the papacy and the Greek empire. The relations of the Frankish kingdom were not directly affected by it. The origin of these relations, which led to the treaty of defence of 754 (Ponthieu), is subjected to a searching examination in the first section of Caspar's book. On the whole he thinks the conclusion justified that Pepin's policy toward the church was more beneficial than injurious to the Roman See. To this *Rassow* objects that the popes remained in complete depend-

ence on the Frankish kings and that Pepin cannot have failed to foresee the conflicts which necessarily arose from the ambiguous character of the type of state he had created. — *Proehl* gives a critical survey of recent investigations and discusses the origin of the so-called *Fragmentum Fantuzzianum*.

That the Donation of Constantine is to be dated in the time of Paul I has gradually become accepted by scholars,¹ and it is the conclusion reached by *Schönegger* after a careful weighing of the various opinions. The emphasis of his article however lies not so much on this critical judgment as on his valuable collection of all the passages referring to the Donation, from the first mention of it by pseudo-Isidore down to its incorporation into the *decretum Gratiani*. He has here brought together a wealth of material not to be neglected by future writers on the history of church law. — The fact that the first public use of the *constitutum* was that made by pseudo-Isidore in the middle of the ninth century has always served as a support for historians who desired to assign the document to that century, but on the other hand it is important to note that the principles of the *constitutum* played their part in the events preceding the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor, and indeed that the papal conception of the coronation would be incomprehensible without them. This is shown by *Brackmann* in his article on the revival of the imperial dignity in the year 800. His few pages on this topic are perhaps the best thing that has been written on it. The coronation is made more difficult to understand by the fact that the papal and the Frankish accounts of it are contradictory. It is futile to try to reconcile them, and they can only be judged rightly if it is borne in mind that they proceeded from totally different ideas of the meaning of the imperial office. For the papal biographer this act was the crown of the edifice which the popes had been rearing since the time of Stephen II. As already observed in speaking of the views of Caspar, the idea of the autonomous *res publica Romanorum* was the chief point in the political program of the popes;

¹ I may state that I took this position as long ago as 1889 (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, nos. 17 and 18) in a full discussion of Friedrich's views. At that time but few investigators had adopted it, among them B. Scheffer-Boichorst.

and as early as the time of Hadrian it was combined with the idea of the *pium imperium*. In contrast to this conception of the founding of an Empire in the West by the pope, to which the parallel: Leo III — Charlemagne, Sylvester I — Constantine the Great, gave welcome support, the view of the Frankish imperial annalists leads us into the ancient world. To the Franks, the *imperium* of Charles is the universal *imperium* of the Roman Caesars, succeeding to the vacant Greek *imperium*. The papal account is certainly right in representing the pope as the sole author of the act of coronation, but it would be wrong to infer from this, and from Charles's reluctance to admit the pope's initiative, that Charles had not for a long time cherished the idea of the imperial dignity. He was reluctant, because a coronation at the hands of the pope would involve him in the ideas associated with the Donation of Constantine. His own attitude is shown by his negotiations with Byzantium and by the *designatio* of his son in 813 without participation by the pope. — To write the posthumous history of Charlemagne was the task set himself by Hoffmann, a young scholar who fell in the war. While Gaston Paris, in his "Histoire poétique de Charle-Magne," had devoted a monograph, hitherto unsurpassed, to the glorification of the Frankish king in epic poetry, Hoffmann limits his field to the writers who intended to present actual history. In the native land of the Carolingians legends gathered about the figure of Charles until it grew to more than human proportions, but in Germany an impression of his personality persisted which kept closer to historic fact. His strict justice and his activity as a lawgiver were especially remembered. He became the ideal ruler, the model for the ablest of his successors. The period of the Crusades rounded out this ideal to romantic perfection, until finally Frederick Barbarossa obtained his canonization, and so his apotheosis, from Pope Paschal III. This evolution is clearly depicted by Hoffmann from the original authorities.

With Christmas day of the year 800 begins that period of German history in which the German kings turned toward the south, to fetch from Rome the crown of the Caesars. The bitter contests over *imperium* and *sacerdotium* which this en-

tailed have often been narrated. But there was a third party to these contests, — the populace of the city of Rome, who manifested their particular interest by frequent outbreaks. To give a connected account of their relation to the imperial elections is Fräulein Bäseler's task. She distinguishes three periods: (1) from Charlemagne to Ludwig III (800–901), (2) from Berengar to Henry III (915–1046), (3) from Henry IV to Frederick II (1084–1220). In the first and third periods the antagonism of spiritual and secular Rome — the latter represented at first by the aristocracy of papal officials and later by purely local elements — was of decisive significance for the elections; in the second period spiritual and secular powers were generally united by the Roman nobility in a single family or a single person. From this point of view Fräulein Bäseler discusses the several elections down to the latest of the Hohenstaufens. Her work is conscientious and merits attention. — Fräulein Sperling first directs attention to the ritual of coronation, the so-called *ordines*, in which, in correspondence with the meaning of the coronation procedure, the relation of *imperium* and *sacerdotium* was symbolized. She next deals with the successive acts of the process: anointing, consecration, and coronation, showing the changes in their mutual relations during the Middle Ages. A third section treats of the oaths which the emperors swore to the popes. It is a good piece of work, but suffers from lack of clearness of arrangement. — The question of coronation oaths is acutely examined by Eichmann. He shows that the *fidelitas* therein required was originally pledged by both parties, the pope as well as the emperor, but from the time of Lothair II, that is after Gregory VII, by the emperor alone. Henceforth the *fidelitas* no longer expresses the mutual relation subsisting between two equal powers, but that of a subject to a superior, a vassal to a lord. This theory, that the *imperium* was a papal grant, was insisted on by the curia with increasing emphasis from the time of Innocent III. It is however by no means implicit in the idea of *fidelitas*, but rests ultimately upon the belief in the Donation of Constantine; with it papal imperialism stands or falls. An important event in this history is the decretal of Clement V, *Romani principes*

(1314), which required the oath of vassalage. *Günter*, however, who has specially studied this question, is of the opinion that no oath of vassalage was taken by the emperors either before or after the decretal. See below under Moeller. — *Kozłowski* describes Bernard of Clairvaux as pursuing a policy of mediation, with the aim of doing justice both to state and church, but as at heart theocentric. The theory of the two swords is discussed with insight and competent knowledge. — *Schrörs*' investigations centre about the events in the Diet at Besançon in 1157, which began the conflict between Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Hadrian IV and, after him, Alexander III. *Schrörs* adduces very strong arguments to prove that the much-contested word *beneficia* in the pope's letter read at the Diet was intended to express the feudal dependence of the imperial power (*beneficium* meaning 'fief,' as the curia and its partisans have always interpreted it, not 'benefit'). — In the Concordat of Worms (1122), according to *Hofmeister*, no new right was created by the curia, but an ancient fundamental right of the state, that of election at the court of the king (hence *in praesentia tua*) was declared compatible with its principles. — *Haller's* article on Henry VI and the Roman church is important enough to have appeared also in book form. He tries to dispel the impression, so apt to prejudice the judgment of historians, that the emperor's policy was adventurous and improvised, and to show that the political aim which he pursued in Italy was only the consistent sequel to that which his father Barbarossa had followed in his later years, namely, the control of Italy by establishing his own power as firmly and broadly as possible in the middle of the peninsula, in close alliance with the Roman church. That he was enabled to unite Sicily with the Empire only strengthened an already existing ambition. Even the concessions to the pope made by Henry in his will, which *Haller* regards as genuine and complete, would have brought the emperor nearer to his goal if they had been carried out. What Henry desired was later vainly attempted by Frederick II. Charles of Anjou finally succeeded, and so the rôle which Henry had dreamed of for the German nation passed to the French. Compare below in IV, *Tangl*.—

Pijper's article is a critical survey, based partly on the recently published papal registers of the chief events in the great ecclesiastical controversy in France. He believes that the archdeacon Jacobus Normannus, who conveyed the bull *Ausculda fili*, brought also the short, insolent letter *Deum time*. In this he differs from the view that this letter and the king's answer *Fatuitas tua* were composed by the chancellor Pierre Flotte and published in place of the genuine bull, which had been burnt by the king's orders. Whether he is right seems doubtful to the present reviewer. — *Moeller* disputes the general opinion, shared even by Hauck, that the theory of imperial as against papal claims, so stoutly defended by the Hohenstaufens, did not disappear in the German empire in the succeeding period. It was not revived indeed until the time of Ludwig the Bavarian, and then it was not the princes of the empire such as Archbishop Baldwin of Trier, but the emperor himself who advocated it. In place of the dualism of emperor and empire, Ludwig, following in the footsteps of the Salians and Hohenstaufens, aimed at a unity of the imperial commonwealth, with the downfall of the particularism of the territorial princes. Under the advice of a small group of non-german publicists he strove with unwearied effort to win over these princes to his policy. At the Diet held in Frankfort in 1338 it looked as if he had attained his goal, but the speedy revolt of the princes marked the end of the old empire. Moeller defends his theory with new evidence and new arguments. Valuable critical discussions of the sources, which cannot be neglected by any serious student of the fourteenth century, constitute almost one third of the volume. It contains also fresh material on the vexed question of the value of the oaths sworn by the emperors at Rome. — One of the emperor's advisers, Marsilius of Padua, has recently been discussed by E. Emerton in the *Harvard Theological Studies*, 1920. Scholars in Germany have also been drawn to the attractive figure of this anticipator of modern ideas of the state. *Stieglitz* has written an elaborate and learned article on his doctrine of the state, and *Falk* a thoughtful essay. — The Benedictine monk Edgar of Admont was another thinker who contributed publicistic discussion to

the ecclesiastical controversy of the time of Ludwig the Bavarian. *Posch* gives a systematic account of his principles, comparing them with those of earlier publicists. He has been able to correct some biographical details, and discusses the manuscript tradition of Edgar's works.

IV. THE PAPACY

a. Sources

Bresslau, Harry, Aus der ersten Zeit des grossen abendländischen Schismas (AAB 1919, 6). 32 pp. Berlin, Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger. — *Ebers, Godehard Josef*, Der Papst und die römische Kurie. I: Wahl, Ordination und Krönung des Papstes (Quellensammlung zur kirchl. Rechtsgeschichte). viii, 216 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1916. — *Hofmann, Walter von*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der kurialen Behörden vom Schisma bis zur Reformation (Bibliothek des preuss. histor. Instituts in Rom 12, 13). xi, 329; viii, 295 pp. Rome, Loescher, 1914. — GREGORY VII. Das Register Gregors VII, hrsg. von *Erich Caspar* (Epist. select. in usum schol. ex MGH sep. edit. II, 1: Gregorii VII. Registrum. lib. i-iv). xlii, 350 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1920. — PRUS II. Des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini Briefwechsel, hrsg. von *Rudolf Wolk*. 3. Teil: Briefe als Bischof von Siena. I: Briefe von der Erhebung zum Bischof bis zum Ausgang des Regensburger Reichstags. xvi, 634 pp. Vienna, Holder, 1918. — *Göller, Emil*, Verzeichnis der in den Registern und Kameralakten Clemens' VII von Avignon vorkommenden Personen, Kirchen und Orte des deutschen Reiches, seiner Diözesen und Territorien (1378-1394). (Repertorium Germanicum. Bd. I.) xvi, 182*, 250 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1916. — Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, hrsg. von der Görresgesellschaft. III: *Schäfer, Karl Heinrich*, Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Benedikt XII, Klemens VI und Innocenz VI, 1335-1362. xii, 936 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914.

Eichmann's collection of sources (see III, a, above) extends in part beyond the period we are here dealing with. *Ebers* not only gives the documents for the mediaeval law relating to papal elections, but traces that law down to its final regulation by Gregory XV (1621) and Clement XII (1732), and appends the full text of the law of papal elections now in force as embodied in the Constitutions of Pius X (1904). The last section of his book contains the sources for ordination, enthronement, the so-called possession, and coronation. The book is useful to own, as the material is nowhere else so fully and conveniently assembled. The sources for the development of the papal rights

of jurisdiction and honors (*Ehrenrechte*), as well as those for the conflict between papalism and episcopatism, and those for the organization of the curia, are reserved for two later parts.— A new edition of the register of Gregory VII has long been a desideratum, since Jaffé's, in the *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, is notoriously inadequate, and it was made imperative by Peitz's proof (1911) that the Vatican manuscript is an original register kept in the Gregorian chancery. This seemed to make the task of editing it comparatively simple, but a new complication arose from Caspar's discovery (1918) that the next oldest manuscript copy, that in the library of Troyes, the exemplar of which must have been derived from the Roman manuscript, contains variations from the latter which are unquestionably original. This singular fact is explained by the circumstance that the Roman manuscript in its present condition has not only suffered certain palaeographically demonstrable alterations, but has also received additions which do not belong to the original writing. In comparison with these two, all later manuscripts may be left virtually out of account. In addition, however, to the tradition proceeding from the papal chancery, attention must be paid to that which goes back to the several recipients of the letters. It is wrong to include in the textual apparatus this parallel tradition on an equal footing and without distinction, as Jaffé did. Caspar has accordingly drawn a sharp distinction between the tradition from the register and that from the recipients. In the text he aims to reproduce the original register as exactly as possible, and he appends a clearly constructed table of the arrangement of the Roman manuscript. The second half of this excellent edition is not yet published.

In the first volume of the "Repertorium Germanicum," published by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, Gölzer brings together new source-material of various kinds. Although little is to be gleaned in regard to the lesser observance of the schismatic pope at Avignon, the comprehensive introduction, which discusses the sources and the canonical, diplomatic, and historical problems, is of great importance. The legal aspects of the papal system of benefices are particularly well eluci-

dated. — *Bresslau* publishes and discusses some new documents relating to the history of the *oboedientia* of Clement VII. An important memorandum written by the pope's own hand, about means for ending the schism, is given in facsimile. — The publication, undertaken by the Görresgesellschaft, of the Vatican manuscript sources on the administration of the papal court and exchequer in the fourteenth century, lays a firm foundation for our knowledge of this branch of the administration of the curia, which, as is well known, gave rise to the severest attacks upon the papacy in the later Middle Ages. The first two volumes, edited by Göller and Schäfer, dealt with the time of John XXII (1316–1334), and the third, also by *Schäfer*, covers the years to 1362. An immense amount of material, very valuable in details, is here made available. — Another volume has appeared of the edition of the letters of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, which *Wolkan* has been publishing since 1905 under the auspices of the Vienna Academy. This volume contains more than three hundred letters, many of them new. The improvement over the edition of Anton Weiss (1897) is considerable, especially since the correspondence of the years 1450–1454 forms a source of the first importance. — *Hofmann's* work may be mentioned in this connection, as the second volume gives original documents, lists, and excursus relating to the matters treated in the first volume. By studying the history of the papal chancery and comparing the parallel phenomena in the other offices, the author endeavors to determine the underlying causes that made it impossible, in spite of every effort at reform, to put a stop to the demoralization, especially in matters of finance, which began with the schism. The book is well written and is important also for students of the history of the Reformation. The Lateran Council report on reform (1513), here published for the first time, deserves special attention, as do the statements in the *avisamenta* of Cardinal Capranica about the state of morals in the curia under Pius II, which are certainly shocking, even if somewhat exaggerated.

b. *Monographs*

Baethgen, Friedrich, Die Regentschaft Papst Innozenz' III im Königreich Sizilien (Heidelberger Abhandl. zur mittl. und neueren Geschichte, hrsg. von Karl Hampe und Hermann Oncken, 44). 164 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1914. — *Brilioth, Y.*, Den påfåiga beskattningen af Sverige intill den stora schismen. xxx, 385 pp. Upsala, 1915. — *Bull, Edward*, Den pavelige legat Stephanus i Norge 1163 (Videnskabselskabets Skrifter II. Historisk-Filos. Klasse 1915, 2). 18 pp. Christiania, Dybwad. — *Dehio, Ludwig*, Innocenz IV und England. Strassburg dissertation. x, 84 pp. Berlin, Göschen, 1914. — *Fiebach, Johannes*, Die augustinischen Anschauungen Papst Innocenz' III als Grundlage für die Beurteilung seiner Stellung zum deutschen Thronstreit. Greifswald dissertation (see p. 331, foot-note 3). 65 pp. Neisse, Bär, 1914. — *Graf, Theodor*, Papst Urban VI. Berlin dissertation (partial publication). 182 pp. Berlin, Scholem, 1916. — *Heckel, Rudolf von*, Untersuchungen zu den Registern Innocenz' III (HJG 40, 1920, 1-43). — *Herzeld, Gottfried*, Papst Gregors VII Begriff der bösen Obrigkeit (*tyrannus, rex injustus, iniquus*) im Sinne der Anschauungen Augustins und Papst Gregors des Grossen. Greifswald dissertation (see p. 331, footnote 3). 88 pp. Greifswald, Adler, 1914. — *Lange, Johannes*, Das Staatensystem Gregors VII auf Grund des Augustinischen Begriffs von der "libertas ecclesiae." Greifswald dissertation (see p. 331, footnote 3). 82 pp. Greifswald, Adler, 1915. — *Lulvès, Jean*, Die Machtbestrebungen des Kardinalkollegiums gegenüber dem Papsttum (MIOeG 35, 1914, 455-483). — *Meyer, Erich W.*, Staatstheorien Papst Innocenz' III (Jenaer histor. Arbeiten, hrsg. von Alexander Cartellieri und Walter Judeich, 9). xii, 50 pp. Bonn, Marcus u. Weber, 1919. — *Meyer, Werner*, Ludwig IX von Frankreich und Innocenz IV in den Jahren 1244-1247. Marburg dissertation. x, 103 pp. Borna-Leipzig, 1916. — *Neumann, Richard*, Die Colonna und ihre Politik von der Zeit Nikolaus' IV bis zum Abzug Ludwigs des Bayern aus Rom, 1288-1328 (Sammlung wissensch. Arbeiten 29). vii, 193 pp. Langensalza, Wendt u. Klauwell, 1914. — *Perels, Ernst*, Papst Nikolaus I und Anastasius Bibliothecarius. xii, 327 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1920. — *Schneider, Wilhelm*, Papst Gregor VII und das Kirchengut. Greifswald dissertation. 206 pp. Greifswald, Abel, 1919. — *Schoepp, Natalie*, Papst Hadrian V (Kardinal Ottobuono Fieschi). (Heidelberger Abhandl. zur mittleren u. neueren Gesch. hrsg. von Karl Hampe u. Hermann Oncken 49). viii, 360 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1916. — *Seckendorff, Eleonore, Freiin von*, Die kirchenpolitische Tätigkeit der heiligen Katharina von Siena unter Papst Gregor XI. Ein Versuch zur Datierung ihrer Briefe. (Abhandl. zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte, hrsg. von Georg von Below, Heinrich Finke und Friedrich Meinecke 64). xvi, 162 pp. Berlin and Leipzig, W. Rothschild, 1917. — *Tangl, Michael*, Die Deliberatio Innocenz' III (SAB, 1919, 1012-1028).

For the writings on the individual popes we follow the chronological order, and this brings the most important work at the beginning. NICHOLAS I (858-867). This great pope's wide-reaching activity in ecclesiastical politics has been a favorite

subject for research (Richterich, 1903; Greinacher, 1909), and the new edition of his letters in MGH (1912) provides occasion for a new consideration. *Perels*, the editor of the letters, first discussed the manuscript tradition in NADG (37, 1912, 535–586; 39, 1914, 43–153), and he has now given a picture of the political activity of the pope which is distinguished for discretion, clarity, and a striving for fairness, and is an important contribution to the history of the ninth century. He maintains stoutly the independence of Nicholas. No one of those about the pope could have given to his policy and correspondence such marked individuality; his own mind produced and guided them. Subordinates of course assisted, and Anastasius Bibliothecarius had a considerable share in the composition of the letters. This assistance was not confined to the discussions with the Greeks, but is evident also in the letters on the Frankish question. In some letters both the pope and his assistants took part in the dictation. — GREGORY VII. In a study marked by thorough mastery of the sources, *Schneider*, a pupil of Bernheim (see p. 331, footnote 3), shows the falsity of the idea that Gregory intended to take from the empire all the property of the higher churches without distinction. He also makes some instructive remarks on lay investiture, and puts special emphasis on the measures for the internal regulation of the church under this great pope, commonly thought of as chiefly a politician, — his care for the proper administration and expenditure of the incomes of the endowed churches, his encouragement of the *vita communis* among the lower clergy, and his efforts to elevate the spiritual and material forces of the church.

INNOCENT III (1198–1216). Several works deal with Innocent III. In pursuance of the arguments advanced by Peitz for the genuineness of the Register of Gregory VII (see above, Gaspar) *von Heckel* shows that the registers of Innocent are also to be regarded as the original manuscript of the pope's chancery. The traces of the work of the secretaries are still clearly recognizable. — *Erich Meyer* is well aware of the difficulty of expounding the political theories of Pope Innocent III without reference to their practical application, but he is right

in pointing out that the political activity of the pope essentially corresponds to the theories, and that on the other hand these theories are so important for the bases of the Catholic hierarchy down to the present day that a separate study of them is justified. — Innocent's famous *Deliberatio super facto imperii de tribus electis* (viz. Philip the Suabian, Otto the Guelph, and Frederick II), has always been considered a memorial addressed to the pope, but *Tangl* proves that it was an address composed by the pope and read by him before the cardinals at a secret consistory on Christmas day of the year 1200. The *deliberatio* contains the declaration that the conferring of the imperial orb upon Henry VI by Celestine III (1191) signified the former's acceptance of the imperial dignity as a fief from the pope. *Tangl*, in opposition to *Haller* (see III, b. p. 349) shows that this interpretation was that of Innocent himself alone, and that no recognition of papal claims by Henry is to be inferred from it.

INNOCENT IV (1241–1254). Two dissertations are devoted to Innocent IV, who continued so successfully the policy of Innocent III. *Dehio*, a pupil of Bresslau, dealing with the relations of the curia to England under Henry III, shows how the feeble attitude of the king toward the claims of the pope both led to the elaboration of papal authority in England and roused opposition from people and clergy, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln and originally a partisan of the pope, appearing as spokesman for the opposition. — In the work of *Werner Meyer*, a pupil of Wenk, the main theme is the opposition to the purely secular development of the papacy. It is interesting to see how Louis IX, whose great piety is spoken of by all contemporary writers and who was canonized not many years after his death, stood up vigorously against the encroachments of the curia on the property, rights, and liberties of the French church. An address delivered before the curia by an un-named envoy of the king, the genuineness of which has always been questioned by scholars favorable to the popes, is here discussed at length.

HADRIAN V (1276). Hadrian was pope only a few weeks, but as Cardinal Ottobuoni Fieschi he played an important part in the complicated ecclesiastical politics of the third quarter of the thirteenth century. *Fräulein Schoepp* carefully traces his

career, especially the years of his embassy to England (1265–1268), on which the sources are comparatively full.

COLONNA. Among the noble families of Rome who so often decisively influenced the politics of the curia, that of Colonna was the most prominent at the close of the thirteenth century. Under Frederick II they had become the representatives of the Ghibelline cause in the curia, and they kept this position during the succeeding period. How they gradually swung over to the side of the Guelphs and finally contributed materially to the failure of Ludwig the Bavarian's expedition to Rome and so to the extinction of the Ghibelline party in Italy, is shown in *Neumann's* book. He gives a fascinating picture of the varying fortunes of these stubborn and stiff-necked Roman optimates, who played the dominant rôle in Rome under Nicholas IV (1288–1292), were forced into exile under Boniface VIII (1294–1303), and again attained to great power and influence under Clement V (1305–1314) and his successors.

GREGORY XI (1370–1378). *Baroness von Seckendorff*, a pupil of Heinrich Finke, seeks to throw light on the dates of the letters of St. Catherine of Siena to Gregory, and succeeds, in spite of the scanty material, through excellence of method. Besides other work in the archives, she has examined the register of this pope, which had been little used for this purpose, and draws from it what is probably the earliest letter of the pope to Sir John Hawkwood, written in January 1373 (not 1372). It may be mentioned that the new edition of the letters by Pinco Misciabelli in six volumes, Siena, 1913–1916, is only a reissue of Tommaseo's edition of 1860.

URBAN VI (1378–1389). *Graf's* work, unfortunately not yet completely published, gives in the early chapters an excellent idea of the history of the curia under Urban VI, with special attention to the *cancellaria* and *camera apostolica*. The very complete list of all the members of the curia, with the documentary evidence, occupying seventy pages, will be of great value to scholars.

V. BISHOPS AND BISHOPRICS

a. Sources

ADAM OF BREMEN. *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*. Editio tertia. Ed. *Bernhard Schmeidler*. (SRG). lxxviii, 353 pp. Hanover and Leipzig, Hahn, 1917. — *Schmeidler, Bernhard*, Hamburg-Bremen und Nordost Europa vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert. xiv, 363 pp. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1918. — *Peitz, Wilhelm, M., S. J.*, Untersuchungen zu Urkundenfälschungen des Mittelalters. 1. Teil: Die Hamburger Fälschungen (Ergänzungshefte zu StZ 2, 3). xxviii, 319 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1919. — MEINWERK OF PADERBORN. *Vita Meinweri episcopi Patherbrunnensis*. Ed. *Franz Tenkhoff*. (SRG). xxviii, 181 pp. Hanover and Leipzig, Hahn, 1920. — *G'sell, Amandus, O. S. B.*, Die Vita des Erzbischofs Arnold von Mainz, auf ihre Echtheit geprüft (NADG 43, 1920–21, 27–85, 317–379). — *Acta Pontificum Danica*, udgivne af *A. Krarup og J. Lindbek*. VI. Copenhagen, 1915.

The new third edition of Adam of Bremen's history of Hamburg is almost a new book. *Schmeidler* has classified the manuscripts, thus throwing light on the origin and growth of this important document, and in the first part of his book on Hamburg-Bremen he explains his conclusions by an intricate but well-supported chain of reasoning. Adam's work as it exists today is the product of several hands. The earliest version (*Schmeidler's A1*), which is extant in Ms. 521 of the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, is the fair copy from which was to be made the copy intended for the personal use of the Archbishop. In this fair copy, however, Adam himself made additions, and others continued the practice after his death. The editor devotes a special chapter to Adam as an author, shows his extraordinary learning in the most varied directions, and characterizes especially his admirable portrayal of Adalbert. The second part of his study is a critical investigation of the documents for the founding and confirmation of the archbishopric. These documents (Gregory VII, 832; Louis the Pious, 834; Agapetus II, 940; Nicholas I, 864; John XV, 989, etc.) he regards as all either unauthentic or forged. In the two most important ones, the bulls of Gregory and Nicholas, he thinks he can distinguish the hand of Adalbert of Bremen. — *Peitz* on the contrary defends the genuineness of all the documents. The present reviewer (*supra*, 1921, p. 363) pointed out the

audacity with which this writer seeks to attack and overthrow the accepted results of archivistic study. The critics applaud the learning, subtlety, and adroitness of his latest essay, but the fact that his criticism of the tradition of the *Vita Anskarii* has to all appearances broken down (see II, a, p. 337), advises caution. Here in the same way he merely tries to reverse the accepted relations of the sources. A detailed refutation of his revolutionary contention is to be expected. With respect to method, the whole controversy is highly interesting. The last part of Schmeidler's book contains studies in northern and Wendish history, but these do not relate to church history. — Bishop Meinwerk (1009–1036) is accounted the second founder of the bishopric of Paderborn because of his zealous efforts for the welfare of the church. His Life is a noteworthy record of the cultural and economic conditions of the time and well deserves the careful work of *Tenkhoff's* new edition. Compare also the same editor's discussions in the "Verzeichnis" of Lectures at the episcopal Academy of Paderborn for the winter semester of 1919–1920. — Archbishop Arnold of Mainz, who was killed in a popular revolt in 1160, had played a great part as chancellor of Conrad II and Frederick Barbarossa. We have for him an anonymous Life (edited by Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, 3, 1860, 604–675) which has been preserved only in late manuscripts and on that account has had its authenticity doubted. *G'sell* proves conclusively that it is a contemporary production, composed probably by some priest of Mainz, and therefore a valuable example of the literary efforts of Mainz in the middle of the twelfth century.

Lindbek's edition of the *Acta Pontificum Danica* gives, either at length or condensed, all papal documents relating to Denmark, mostly from the Vatican archives. Volume VI covers the period from 1513 to 1536 (the Danish Reformation) and gives supplements to the earlier volumes. Most of the documents of course deal with preferments and financial affairs. [V. A.]

b. *Monographs*

Bauermeister, Karl, Berthold von Henneberg, Kurfürst und Erzbischof von Mainz, 1484-1504 (HJG 39, 1918-19, 731-740). — *Beinlich, Johannes*, Die Persönlichkeit Erzbischof Adalberts von Bremen in der Darstellung seines Biographen Adam, auf Grund der Zeitanschauungen. Greifswald dissertation (see p. 331, foot-note 3). 156 pp. Breslau, Fleischmann, 1918. — *Kehr, Paul*, Das Erzbistum Magdeburg und die erste Organisation der Kirche in Polen (AAB 1920, 1). 68 pp. Berlin, Verein. wissenschaft. Verleger. — *Kolrad, Oluf*, Olavskyrkja i Trondhjem (Norske Folkeskriften 63). 132 pp. Christiania, Norrigs ungdomslag og Studentmållaget, 1914. — *Meyer, August*, Der politische Einfluss Deutschlands und Frankreichs auf die Metzser Bischofswahlen im Mittelalter. x, 132 pp. Metz, Müller, 1916. — *Schmauch, Hans*, Die Besetzung der Bistümer im Deutschordensstaate bis zum Jahre 1410. Königsberg dissertation. (Zeitschr. für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands 20, 21, 1919, 1920). — *Schmidt, Gustav*, Erzbischof Siegfried I. von Mainz. Königsberg dissertation. xi, 101 pp. Berlin, Ebering, 1917. — *Schmitt, Karl Heinrich*, Erzbischof Adalbert I von Mainz als Territorialfürst. Giessen dissertation. (Arbeiten zur deutschen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte, hrsg. von Johannes Haller, Philipp Heck und Artur B. Schmidt 2). viii, 84 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1920. — *Weibull, Lauritz*, De skånska kyrkans äldsta historia (Historisk Tidskrift för Skåneland 5, 1913, 1916).

Berthold of Henneberg, Elector of Mainz, rendered great service to the empire at the end of the fifteenth century. With the aid of newly available sources from the archives of Würzburg, *Bauermeister* shows that both as a reigning prince and as a churchman he had a noteworthy career. — *Kehr* demonstrates by skillful use of the original documents that the bishopric of Posen never belonged to the province of Magdeburg. Thietmar of Merseberg, who asserted that it did, was following a papal document forged in the interest of Magdeburg at the beginning of the eleventh century.

Meyer's collection of material for the study of church law is welcome. In spite of the title, the subject is not so much the political rivalry between Germany and France, which in the borderland of Lorraine was a conspicuous fact all through the Middle Ages, but rather the legal aspects of the appointments to the see of Metz. The attitude of the bishops toward the great conflict between empire and papacy is also discussed. — In the appointment of bishops in the territory of the Teutonic knights, the rivalry between the knights, the archbishop of Riga, and the see of Rome was an important element. *Schmauch*

writes interestingly on the appointments in chronological order, discussing as well matters of church politics and ecclesiastical law. — In the contest of Henry IV with Gregory VII, Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz is one of the most prominent figures among the German bishops. *Schmidt* shows that his defection from the king was affected by his hope of establishing his position as spiritual primate of the realm. This hope, however, rested on a mistaken understanding of political conditions. — The metropolitans of Mainz preferred to be at the king's court rather than to attend to justice in their own territory, but Willigis in the time of Otto II and Otto III, and still more Adalbert I (1111–1137), were exceptions. What the latter accomplished for the benefit of the archbishopric of Mainz is told in detail by *Schmitt*, a pupil of Haller. — *Weibull's* fresh and critical study is the first modern account of the rise and early history of the church in Skane, which is the southernmost part of Sweden, comprising the two modern provinces of Malmöhus and Christianstad. The author describes the founding of this church in the eleventh century, the attempt of the Danish king to establish a Danish archbishopric, the efforts at a patriarchate on the part of Adalbert of Bremen, the erection of the archbishopric in Lund, the contest for supremacy between Hamburg and Lund, and finally the reorganization of the archbishoprics in Norway and Sweden. He also gives an exact account of the inner development of the church in Skane.

VI. COUNCILS

Günther, Otto, Zur Vorgeschichte des Konzils von Pisa (NADG 41, 1920, 633–676). — *Katterbach, Josef* (P. Bruno O. F. M.), Der zweite literarische Kampf auf dem Konstanzer Konzil im Januar und Februar 1415. Freiburg i. B. dissertation. vi, 94 pp. Fulda, Aktien-druckerei, 1919. — *Lenné, Albert*, Der erste literarische Kampf auf dem Konstanzer Konzil im November und Dezember 1414. Freiburg i. B. dissertation. (RQ 28, 1914, 3–40, 61–86). — *Mohler, Ludwig*, Eine verloren geglaubte Schrift des Georgios Amirutzes über das Florentiner Konzil (OChr 8, 1920, 20–35). — *Riegel, Josef*, Die Teilnehmerlisten des Konstanzer Konzils. Freiburg i. B. dissertation (partial publication). 73 pp. Freiburg, Charitas-Druckerei, 1916. — *Tangl, Georgina*, Die Teilnehmer an den allgemeinen Konzilien des Mittelalters. Berlin dissertation (partial publication). 74 pp. Weimar, Böhlau, 1916.

From a manuscript of the Stadtbibliothek of Danzig, comprising a large collection of valuable contemporary pieces relating to the Council of Pisa and its preliminaries, *Günther* publishes the *inedita*. — *Katterbach* and *Lenné* have had access to Heinrich Finke's extensive unpublished material, which assures the documentary value of their work. — *Riegel* also, in his scrutiny of the lists of participants in the Council of Constance, has been influenced by Finke. — The tract of Georgios Amirutzes on the Council of Florence, hitherto known only by title, is published by *Mohler* from Cod. Bibl. Valli-cell. XCIII, 25. It proves to be an invective against the union of the Greek and Latin churches. — It is to be hoped that *Fräulein Tangl's* dissertation will be published in full. The chief value of this careful piece of work lies in the chapter on the development of the Roman synod into the general council of the later Middle Ages.

VII. ECCLESIASTICAL LAW AND LITURGY

Bauer, Richard, Der Strafprozess der Inquisition in Südfrankreich. Heidelberg dissertation. viii, 134 pp. Marburg, Hamel, 1917. — *Bliemietzrieder, Franz Paul*, Zu den Schriften Ivos von Chartres (SAW 182, 6, 1917). 89 pp. — *Lindner, Dominikus*, Die Lehre vom Privileg nach Gratian und den Glossatoren des Corpus juris canonici. 128 pp. Regensburg, Copenrath, 1917. — *Ludwig, Vinzenz Otkar*, Der Kanonisationsprozess des Markgrafen Leopolds III des Heiligen (Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg 9). ccxvii, 220 pp. Vienna, Braumüller, 1919. — *Pöschl, A.*, Der *vocatus episcopus* der Karolingerzeit (Archiv f. katholisches Kirchenrecht 97, 1917, 3-43, 185-219). — *Prochnow, Fritz*, Das Spolienrecht und die Testierfähigkeit der Geistlichen im Abendland bis zum 13. Jahrhundert (HSt 136, 1919). 130 pp. — *Seckel, Emil*, Benedictus Levita decurtatus et excerptus. Studie zu den Handschriften der falschen Kapitularien (Festschrift für Heinrich Brunner, 377-464). Munich, Duncker u. Humblot, 1914; Studien zu Benedictus Levita VIII (NADG 40, 1915, 15-130; 41, 1917, 157-263). — *Sohm, Rudolf*, Das altkatholische Kirchenrecht und das Dekret Gratians (Festschrift für Adolf Wach). viii, 674 pp. Munich, Duncker u. Humblot, 1918. — *Wahrmund, Ludwig*, Der *ordo iudiciarius* des Aegidius de Fuscariis (Quellen zur Geschichte des römisch-kanonischen Prozesses im Mittelalter, 3, 1). xlviii, 271 pp. Innsbruck, Wagner, 1916. — *Bernhardi Cardinalis et Lateranensis Ecclesiae Prioris Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiae Lateranensis*, hrsg. von *Ludwig Fischer* (Historische Quellen und Forschungen, hrsg. von Josef Schlecht, 2. und 3. Heft). lxxviii, 164 pp. Munich and Freising, Datterer, 1916.

The first volume of *Sohm's Kirchenrecht* has had a lasting influence on research in the field of early ecclesiastical law. Death prevented the author from completing the work, but he left a part of the later portion ready for the press. His broad general thesis is well known, namely that ecclesiastical Law stands in contradiction to the essential nature of the church, which is Love. This theme continues to dominate the second volume. He holds that until about the end of the twelfth century the *hierarchia ordinis*, that is, divine ordinance (*göttliche Ordnung*), power of consecration, and sacrament were determinative for Catholic ecclesiastical law, and that only after that date did ecclesiastical law of human origin, *hierarchia jurisdictionis*, take its place beside the divine. In this sense Gratian belongs to the earlier epoch. He was not a reformer but a perfecter; he brought the old Catholic church law to its highest development. Sohms has worked out these thoughts with admirable power and charm, and his book is not merely instructive but delightful. Whether he has proved his thesis is very doubtful. Ulrich Stutz, the most eminent scholar in mediaeval church law, has offered strong objection to it (*Zeitschr. f. Rechtsgeschichte* 39, kanonistische Abteilung 8, 1918, 238-246). He finds no cleavage between Gratian and his continuators, the so-called decretists and decretalists, but rather a clear and unbroken connection; moreover, it cannot be shown that church law down to 1200 rested solely on the *hierarchia ordinis* and only after that time, and with equal exclusiveness, on the *hierarchia jurisdictionis*. Stutz seems to be in the right here, but Sohms's volume amply repays study. — A few words must suffice to characterize the other works on church law. *Bauer's* valuable discussion of the trials of the Inquisition divides the subject, from the legal point of view, into four parts: (1) the idea of heresy and the crimes covered thereby; (2) the court; (3) procedure; (4) penalties and their execution.¹¹ — The writings of Ivo of Chartres are collected in Migne, Series latina 161 and 162, but in contemporary manu-

¹¹ On the side of church policy this is well supplemented by *Hermann Köhler*, *Die Ketzerpolitik der deutschen Kaiser und Könige in den Jahren 1152-1254* (Jenaer historische Arbeiten 6), Bonn, Marcus u. Weber, 1913.

scripts there are traces of unknown writings by this important authority on early mediaeval church law. *Bliemietzrieder* gives some fragments of these. — For his study of the meaning and kinds of *privilegium* in mediaeval law *Lindner* has employed manuscript material on a large scale, using the works of the decretists practically entire and at least the more important of the decretalists. — *Prochnow's* work is of interest to students of church history and the history of civilization, as well as of legal history. The *jus spoli*, or in the more correct form, in use down to the fifteenth century, the *jus spoli*, is the right of the head of an ecclesiastical institution to the personal property of the deceased clergy. In its nature an encroachment on the sphere of private law, it curtailed in particular the right of testamentary disposal by the clergy. Although the discontent of the laity with the vast increase of the wealth of the church often led to violent outbreaks, Prochnow shows that in the struggle over the *jus spoli* hostilities began not from the secular side, but from that of the clerical power. What was demanded was not the abolition of an oppressive special position, which deprived the clergy (and not them alone) of their right of free action, but, as always, the creation of a new privilege calculated to increase their wealth and thereby their power. The phases of the conflict in France, England, and Germany are explained. — *Seckel's* studies on the manuscripts of the capitularies of Benedictus Levita run through a number of volumes of NADG, and are not yet finished. For his conclusions on the first book, see NADG 31, 1906, pp. 62, 134; on the second, *ibid.* 35, 1910, pp. 107, 532. — In *Wahrmund's* *Ordines judiciarii* are printed important texts for the history of procedure in canon law, a part of them being hitherto unknown, and the whole collection being the first in which an edition resting on manuscripts has been combined with critical introductions dealing with the authors. The *Ordo* of Aegidius de Fuscarariis is here of special importance.

One of the most interesting of the many problems which arise in liturgical history is that of the relation between the old Roman liturgy and its later development in the curial *Officium*; and light is thrown on this question by but few documents.

From a passage of Abaelard it must be inferred that in his time the church of the Lateran was the only one which continued to use the old Roman liturgy. By a singular good fortune we still possess this *Ordo lateranensis*, which was composed before 1145, that is, in Abaelard's time. *Fischer's* publication of it fills a considerable gap. He furnishes much topographical detail and much information about the usages observed at the basilica by the various religious corporations. The question of the author of the *Ordo*, who played an important part in the diplomatic service of the curia, is thoroughly discussed. The text of the document is reproduced with the utmost care, and the whole work deserves all attention.

VIII. SAINTS, MONKS, AND MONASTERIES

a. General

Bierbaum, Max, Bettelorden und Weltgeistlichkeit an der Universität Paris. Texte und Untersuchungen zum literarischen Armuts- und Exemptionsstreit des 13. Jahrhunderts (FrSt, Beiheft 2, 1920). xvi, 406 pp. — *Denkinger, T.*, Die Bettelorden in der französischen didaktischen Literatur des 13. Jahrhunderts und im Roman de la Rose (FrSt 2, 1915, 63–109, 286–313); Die Bettelorden im sogenannten Testament und Codicille des Jehan de Meun (ib. 3, 1916, 339–353); Die Bettelorden in Dit und Fabel (ib. 6, 1919, 273–294). — *Feusi, Iniga*, Das Institut der gottgeweihten Jungfrauen und sein Fortleben im Mittelalter. iv, xvi, 236 pp. Freiburg i. S., Gschwend, 1917. — *Leistle, David*, Ueber Klosterbibliotheken des Mittelalters (StMGB 5, 1915, 197–228, 357–377). — *Löffler, Klemens*, Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken (Schriften der Görresgesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaften 1). 72 pp. Cologne, Bachem, 1918. — *Lorentzen, Valdemar*, De danske Klosters Bygningshistorie I–III. Copenhagen, 1912, 1920. — *Oliger, Livarius*, Ein unbekannter Traktat gegen die Mendikanten von Nikolaus Palmerius, O. S. A., Bischof von Orte (FrSt3, 1916, 77–92). — *Pijper, F.*, De Kloosters. 379 pp. The Hague, 1916. — *Scheler, Selmar*, Sitten und Bildung der französischen Geistlichkeit nach den Briefen Stephans von Tournai. Jena dissertation. (HSt 130, 1915). xv, 110 pp. — *Scheuten, Paul*, Das Mönchtum in der altfranzösischen Profandichtung (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, hrsg. von Ildefons Herwegen, 7). xx, 124 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1919. — *Schumacher, Adelgott*, Album Desertinense oder Verzeichnis der Aebte und Religiösen des Benediktiner-Stiftes Disentis. Eine Festgabe auf die Jubelfeier seines dreizehnhundertjährigen Bestehens 614–1914. xii, 139 pp. Disentis, Selbstverlag des Stiftes, 1914. — Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen. Teil 6 (1442–1463). Lieferung 1 (1442–1448); Lieferung 2 (1448–1453). Hrsg. vom Historischen Verein des Kantons St. Gallen; unter Mitwirkung von *Joseph Müller* bearbeitet von *Traugott Schiess*. iv, ii, 200; iv, ii,

201-400 pp. St. Gall, Fahr, 1917, 1918. — *Zibermayr, Ignaz*, Die Legation des Kardinals Nikolaus Cusanus und die Ordensreform in der Kirchenprovinz Salzburg (RStT 29, 1914). xx, 128 pp.

Leistle shows by numerous examples how the monastic libraries made their collections, describes their equipment, and tells of the learned intercourse between libraries. — After an introduction on books and the arrangements of libraries in the Middle Ages, *Löffler* discusses German monastic libraries and their influence on literary life in the period of humanism, and treats in detail the fate of these monasteries after their dissolution and ruin, closing his interesting and suggestive book with a description of the most important libraries of the Middle Ages. — *Lorentzen's* book contains the history of Danish monasteries of the Order of the Holy Spirit and of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, from the architectural point of view. A complementary treatment of the history and life of these orders in Denmark was planned by *Lindbok*, and he published the volume on the Order of the Holy Spirit (*J. Lindbok og G. Stemann: De danske Helligaandsklostre*, 1906) and more recently that on the Franciscans (Copenhagen, 1914; see below under Francis of Assisi), but this scholar's death has brought this valuable work to an end. [*V. A.*] — *Pijper's* book, dealing primarily with monasticism, should have been mentioned in the first article (1921). It covers the history of monasticism from the origins to the Jesuits. The second half discusses the significance of monasticism for the history of civilization, with such topics as life and occupation within the monastery; merits and defects; social advantage and disadvantage; monasteries as educational institutions; the international character of the monastic orders, and the like. The original authorities are used. [*Van B.*] — The letters of Bishop Stephen of Tournay are valuable for their bearing on the condition of church and society at the end of the twelfth century. Though himself trained under a monastic rule, Stephen was an ardent friend of the reform of the secular clergy, taking an active interest in all questions that concerned the priesthood. *Scheler's* selections from his correspondence give valuable information about the morals and education of the French clergy

of the time. — *Scheuten's* literary study is useful also for ecclesiastical Kulturgeschichte. From the secular poetry of the Middle Ages the author has drawn a mass of historical details and combined them into a general picture of monasticism. The epic poetry in particular gives us vivid little pictures of monastic life such as purely historical sources cannot afford. They remind one of the Canterbury Tales. Naturally dwelling on the externals of life in the cloister rather than on the inner religious life (for the poets are usually critical of monasticism), they show a tone often unfriendly or even frivolous. We see here the beginnings which led to the later satirical poetry directed against the church. — *Denkinger* treats a kindred theme, studying the mendicant orders as viewed by French contemporary writers, the general grounds for the views of these latter, and the place of the separate poems with relation to mendicant literature as a whole. — The battle over the ideal of poverty of the mendicant orders and their pastoral rights, which was fought out at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century, and in which such distinguished scholars as Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Peckham, and William of St. Amour took part, has never been described as a whole, nor are the extant sources fully known. *Bierbaum* has taken a long step toward clearing up this matter (which has further importance for general church history), by publishing for the first time and discussing a long tractate by the Minorite brother Bertrand of Bayonne and three shorter writings by opponents of the Minorites, Gerhard of Abbeville and Nicholas of Lisieux. — An invective against the Minorites by Bishop Nicolaus Palmerius of Orte in the Papal State (†1467), published by *Oliger* from Cod. Vat. lat. 5815 (which contains other unpublished writings of Palmerius), is of a later period. — *Zi-bermayr* discusses the work for monastic reform of Nicholas of Cusa after his appointment as papal legate, with special reference to the visitation protocols. Some unpublished documents are included. — Sister *Feusi* proves from an abundance of original authorities that the usual opinion that consecrated virgins ceased to exist as a separate class in the church after the sixth century, is mistaken. The institution survived the

period of the migrations, declined toward the end of the seventh century, and in consequence of ecclesiastical regulations came to an end at the beginning of the ninth century.

b. *Saints and Monastic Orders*

AUGUSTINIANS. *Vonschott, Hedwig*, Geistiges Leben im Augustinerorden am Ende des Mittelalters und zu Beginn der Neuzeit (HSt 129, 1915). 130 pp.

BEGUINES. *Meier, Gabriel*, Die Beginen der Schweiz (ZSchwKG 9, 1915, 23-34, 119-133).

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. *Honnef, Johannes*, Das Priesterideal des heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux. xi, 198 pp. Düsseldorf, Schwann, [1919]. — *Kozłowski, Jerzy von*, Kirche und Staat und Kirchenstaat nach dem heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux. (See III, b). — *Radcke, Fritz*, Die eschatologischen Anschauungen Bernhards von Clairvaux. Greifswald dissertation. (Sammlung wissensch. Arbeiten 45). iii, 132 pp. Langensalza, Wendt u. Klauwell, 1915.

BIRGITTA AND THE VADSTENA CONVENT. *Collijn, I.* ed., Acta et processus canonizationis S. Birgittae. Cod. Holm. A. 14. (Codices medii aevi e Bibliotheca Regia Holmiensi selecti phototypice expressi). xxii, (1) 4; xii, (1) pp. with 255 facsimiles; introduction in Swedish and French. Stockholm, 1920. — Iconographia Birgittina typographica. Birgitta och Katherina i medeltida bildtryck. Upsala, 1915-18. — *Fogelklon, Emilia*, Birgitta. 252, (1) 5 pp. Stockholm, 1919. — *Geete, R.* ed., Fyra handlingar rörande Vadstena klostres privilegier (1440 och 1458), abbedissans åsliga redovisning och klosterfolkets tariff af kost och föda (Bilaga till Svenska Fornskrifts Sällskapets årsmöte, 1914, 281-295). Stockholm, 1914. — Vadstena klostres Minnesbok. Diarium Vagatenense. x, 377 pp. Stockholm, 1918. — *Månsson, P.*, Vadstenabroder Peder Månssons bref pu svenska från Rom tin Vadstena kloster, 1508-1519 (Bilaga tin Sv. Fornskrift Sällskapets årsmöte, 1915, 297-348). Stockholm, 1915. — *Söderblom, Nathanael*, Birgitta och reformationen (Föredrag, Vadstena kyrka, den 24 Okt. 1916). 32 pp. Upsala, 1917.

CAESARIUS OF HEISTERBACH. *Harder, Heinrich*, Die sittlichen Begriffe im *Dialogus miraculorum major* des Caesarius von Heisterbach. Leipzig dissertation. 74 pp. Halle, John, 1916.

CATHERINE OF SIENA. *Maresch, Maria*, Katharina von Siena (Führer des Volkes 9). 87 pp. München-Gladbach, Volksverein, 1918. — *Riesch, Helene*, Die heilige Katharina von Siena. 2. u. 3. Aufl. viii, 142 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1915. — *Seckendorff, Eleonore Freiin von*, Die kirchenpolitische Tätigkeit der heiligen Katharina von Siena, (see IV, b).

DOMINIC AND THE DOMINICANS. *Meyer, J.*, Liber de viris illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum. Hrg. von *P. von Loë*. viii, 92 pp. Leipzig, Harrasowitz, 1918. — *Rings, Mannes M., O. P.*, Der heilige Dominicus. Sein Leben und seine Ideale. 420 pp. Dülmen i. W., Laumann, 1920. — *Wilms,*

Hieronymus, O.P., Geschichte der deutschen Dominikanerinnen, 1206–1916. 416 pp. Dülmen, Laumann, 1920.

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JOAN OF ARC. *Prutz, Hans*, Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Jungfrau von Orleans (SAM 1917). 96 pp.

NICHOLAS VON DER FLÜE. *Durrer, Robert*, Die ältesten Quellen über den seligen Nikolaus von Flüe, sein Leben und seinen Einfluss, gesammelt und erläutert im Auftrag der h. Regierung des Kantons Unterwalden ob dem Kernwald auf die fünfhundertste Wiederkehr seiner Geburt. 1. Halbband. iv, 204 pp. 2. Halbband, 1. Hälfte. iv, 205–520 pp. Sarnen, Ehrli, 1917, 1918. — *Hernzog, Eduard*, Bruder Klaus. Studien über seine religiöse und kirchliche Haltung. 111 pp. Bern, Wyss, 1917. — *Oehl, Wilhelm*, Bruder Klaus und die deutsche Mystik (ZSchwKG 9, 1915, 161–174, 241–254).

NORBERT OF PRÉMONTRÉ. *Wozasek, B.*, Der heilige Norbert, Stifter des Praemonstratenserordens und Erzbischof von Magdeburg. 318 pp. Vienna, Eichinger, 1914.

OTMAR OF ST. GALL. *Scheiwiller, Otmar*, Zur Biographie des heiligen Abtes Otmar von St. Gallen (ZSchwKG 13, 1919, 1–32). — *Vetter, Ferdinand*, Sankt Otmar, der Gründer und Vorkämpfer des Klosters Sankt Gallen (Jahrbuch f. schweizerische Geschichte 43, 1918, 92–193).

TEMPLARS. *Schüpferling, Michael*, Der Tempelherren-Orden in Deutschland. Freiburg i. S. dissertation. iv, 266 pp. Bamberg, Kirsch, 1915.

THOMAS À BECKET. *Thiemke, Hermann*, Die mittelalterliche Thomas-Becket-Legende des Gloucesterlegendars, kritisch herausgegeben. vii, lxi, 185 pp. Berlin, Mayer u. Müller, 1919.

AUGUSTINIANS. Fräulein *Vonschott* shows by aptly chosen instances how the Augustinian friars of Italy fostered the intellectual inheritance of Petrarch and Boccaccio and carried the early Renaissance art of miniature-painting to Bohemia, and how the Augustinian canonici of Bohemia became the medium for the influences of the Renaissance as it had developed in southern France, while their Austrian and South-German brethren entered heartily into the scholastic activity of the humanistic movement. How far the same is true of the friars who were settled in middle and northern Germany, it is difficult

to say, because their libraries were destroyed in the Reformation, while the canonici, who held aloof from this movement, guarded their precious volumes better. The Augustinians took a particularly active interest in the religious movements of the time,—the monks in reviving classical Augustinianism, and the canonici in promoting the religious endeavors of humanism.

BEGUINES. *Meier* gives exhaustive information, with abundance of statistics, as to the diffusion of Beguinism in Switzerland, which was greater than is commonly supposed.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX. *Radcke* uses the eschatological views of the saint of Clairvaux to explain his position in the strife of ecclesiastical politics. In the present meritorious study he examines the apocalyptic and sibylline elements; the influence of Augustinian views is to be treated in a second part. Scheel (ThLz 43, 1918, 317 f.) is right in criticizing this division of subjects.

BIRGITTA AND THE MONASTERY OF VADSTENA. *Collijn* publishes, with an introduction in Swedish and French, a phototype reproduction of a manuscript in the monastery library at Stockholm (A14), which is very important for understanding the life and activities of Saint Birgitta. His second book is a collection of mediaeval stencil portraits of Birgitta and her daughter Katharine, reproduced in the original size and colors and furnished with explanatory descriptions.—*Fräulein Fogelklon's* biography of the great northern mystic is very well written, and based on the sources. She directs attention not so much to the events of her outward life as to its inner development, and is particularly interested in bringing out her conscious femininity.—*Geete* furnishes information from unpublished manuscripts, important for its bearing on life in the monastery of Vadstena and on the *privilegia* of the monastery.—The letters of *Månsson*, the Vadstena monk, who was curator of the Birgitta foundation in Rome, 1508–1524, are an important authority for the history of the foundation.—*Söderblom's* address is short but instructive. He shows how Birgitta, although not in the ordinary sense a forerunner of the Reformation, yet by reason of her personal piety, moral earnestness, and prophetic gift, was a mediaeval repre-

sentative of the evangelical line of descent. Two plates are added of an excellent wooden statue of Birgitta discovered by the archbishop himself in the church at Hillesbog. [*Pleyel*]

DOMINIC AND THE DOMINICANS. Unlike Francis of Assisi St. Dominic has seldom been made the subject of a monograph, and perhaps of no biography in German before that of *Rings*. The latter's book is welcome for this reason, although it hardly satisfies the requirements of critical history and the tone is throughout that of the ordinary saint's life. The author has however taken pains to read the original sources and to consult earlier books on the Dominican order. — *Wilms* has made a useful book on the Dominican nuns, using already published material and some unpublished documents. His purpose was primarily to write for members and friends of the order an account of the varying fortunes of their community and of the varying character which has marked its spirit in the course of centuries; but the interest of the book is not confined to these circles. The Dominican nuns were never a widely extended body, but their influence was not inconsiderable. *Wilms* traces their entire history down to 1916, with emphasis on their chief local centres and on certain prominent personalities. His book is a distinct contribution to historical literature, the more so that it had no predecessor.

FRANCIS OF ASSISI AND THE MINORITES. St. Francis and his followers have always been a favorite subject of research in church history, and it was a good thought of Father *van den Borne* to give a comprehensive survey of the study, from Hadding and Suyskens down. Not only is his book what he intended it to be, a convenient introduction to the subject, but its information will be useful to experienced scholars. His judgments are in general well considered and trustworthy. — Meanwhile research is still going on, and in the period covered by this survey has brought to light much valuable matter. To be sure, the flood tide that set in with Sabatier's famous biography and the publication of sources which accompanied and followed that, has passed, but the number of publications on Franciscan topics which appear annually is still considerable, especially since popular and polite literature has interested

itself in the subject. In our bibliography we have included only works which possess value as original contributions. — First of all we must mention the great publications which the order itself devotes to its history. The quarterly *Franziskanische Studien*, with its articles longer and shorter, extensive literary surveys, and careful reviews of special publications, gives an excellent notion of contemporary work. Its field is the influence which Franciscanism has had upon the spiritual life of the past, and the history, both external and internal, of the Franciscan foundations, particularly in German-speaking lands. The scheme is completed by occasional *Beihefte*, consisting of longer monographs. The contents are not always of general historical interest, and it is only for the sake of completeness that we have made mention of *Falke's* and *Doelle's* works, relating as they do solely to German history. — Those of *Lemmens*, however, long known as an investigator, are of general interest.¹² He was permitted to study on the spot the archives of the Franciscan *custodia* of the monastery of Saint Salvator in Jerusalem, and has succeeded in reconstructing, by means of the Arabic records, the history of the monastery for the period of the Egyptian sultans and a little beyond. Together with these archives, various writings from the later centuries of the Middle Ages form his chief sources, and have made possible a great advance in critical knowledge of the subject, both through the rejection of traditional errors and the discovery of new facts and combinations. This highly instructive monograph is indispensable for every student of Franciscan missions. In his second *Beiheft* Lemmens has been able to use the work of many earlier students. His aim is to collect all the statements of old authorities, to fix the date and place of the events mentioned, and to explain the circumstances. His book is published in honor of the seven hundredth anniversary of the Franciscan missions, and covers not only these, but also the closely associated Dominican missions. Lemmens arranges the missions geographically in five sections: (1) northeastern Europe, (2) the Cumans, (3) the Mongolians (Persia, Kipchak, China, Turkestan), (4) northern India, (5) the islands of West Africa. Both books

¹² On *Beiheft 2* (*Bierbaum*) see section IX, Scholastic Philosophy and Theology.

are furnished with full bibliographical references. — Another important serial publication is the *Monumenta Germaniae Franciscana*. Its purpose is to edit or reissue all manuscripts of any value and rare printed works by Franciscan writers or on Franciscan subjects, within the sphere of the German language. The only volume so far published deals with the archives of the Silesian monasteries down to the Reformation. The expense of the work is naturally very great, and under present conditions in Germany it is to be feared that so generously planned an undertaking cannot prosper. — No life of St. Francis on a large scale has appeared during the period of this survey, but anyone who enjoys fine analysis of character will do well to read *Saitschick's* little book as an introduction to the personality and ideals of the saint. It is a charming and profound study, combining modern sentiment and historical accuracy. It would be well worth translating into English. — *Tilemann's* investigations are directed against Sabatier and his cruder followers, who insist on St. Francis as only the individualist, to the exclusion of his other well-established traits of character. Tilemann emphasizes that tendency which led St. Francis to regard unqualified obedience to superiors as an essential element of piety, a tendency which reached its full development in the Jesuits. This view is sound, provided it is not carried too far. A clear line leading from Franciscans to Jesuits has been generally admitted, but Francis was not the spiritual ancestor of Loyola, who had but few traits in common with him. — The two legends by *Thomas of Celano*, the *Vita prima* and *Vita secunda*, are the earliest biographical sketches of St. Francis that exist, but they have hitherto been neglected by German translators in favor of the later Fioretti, and have never been rendered into English. The smooth and very accurate translation by *Schmidt* is accompanied by a learned introduction by Vischer. — *Kybal's* essay on the Song of Brother Sun, of which Francis was probably, if not quite certainly, the author, discusses the occasion, circumstances, and aim of the composition. It combined several *laudes* belonging to different periods and orally current. What has come down to us in writing is a mere fragment and therefore, from the point of

view of style, lacking in unity and order. The same writer's critical study of the famous Testament of St. Francis is based on the manuscripts, and discusses the contents and spirit of these documents and their relation to the Rule of the order. A third piece of thorough criticism is devoted to the Rule itself. The author thinks he has settled the much-disputed question of the origin, form, and wording of the three Rules of 1210, 1221, and 1223. His solution is, however, open to objection, for he has restricted the contents of the first Rule altogether too drastically, leaving only the confession of obedience at the beginning together with the succeeding words from the gospel. This does not constitute a Rule. His conclusions as to the second and third Rules are very satisfactory, and many familiar facts are presented under new points of view. The parallel analysis of the two Rules is useful, as is the section on the historical significance of the Rule of 1223 and the constitution of the order. — *Schäfer's* book is primarily of interest for local history, but it touches on the golden prime of Franciscanism in southern Germany, and the author's elaboration of a mass of topics which are of wider bearing is a model of thoroughness. — With the use of many authorities, published and unpublished, *Groeteken* tells the story of the Franciscans, (1) as papal envoys at the courts of the orient and occident, (2) as counsellors and confidants of rulers, (3) as confessors of sovereigns, and (4) as opponents of the pope at the court of Ludwig the Bavarian. In conclusion he tells the romantic story of the Franciscan monk on the throne, King Hayton II of Armenia, who was murdered in 1308. — *Schmitz* has in hand a history of the observance movement in the Franciscan monasteries in the fifteenth century, and in the present monograph he answers the preliminary questions of whether, how, and why, at the close of the Middle Ages, the convents of southern Germany needed reformation. In defending the convents against the unfavorable representations of the reformers, he acknowledges that they needed reform but denies the moral and religious degradation that their opponents allege, and admits only a certain secular tone in their piety, due to the lowering of the standard of community life, to laxity in the maintenance of separate-

ness from the world, and to a departure from the original ideal of poverty. This might seem to give away his whole case, although of course the picture ought not to be pointed in too dark colors.

FRATRES COMMUNIS VITAE. *Barnikol*, in a work based wholly on original authorities, deals with the Brothers of the Common Life, who contributed so much to the intensifying of the religious spirit at the end of the Middle Ages. He clears up many matters connected with the origin of the movement in the Netherlands (Florentius) and its extension and organization in Germany.

HILDEGARDE OF BINGEN. Among the women of the twelfth century, the figure of Hildegarde, prioress of a convent of Benedictine nuns on the Rupertsberg near Bingen on the Rhine, is conspicuous. A counsellor of emperors and popes, active in the moral reform of clergy and people, her name has also been remembered for her mystical writings, especially the *Liber Scivias* (sc. *Domini*). Her portrait is painted by Fräulein *Riesch* in popular style but with due regard to scholarly standards, and can be heartily recommended as a picture of a gifted and deeply religious personality who need not fear comparison with the more celebrated Catherine of Siena. — *Roth*, who had not read Fräulein *Riesch*'s account, gives some preliminary studies for a projected learned biography of St. Hildegarde and a critical edition of her writings.

JACOBUS DE VORAGINE. One of the most widely read of mediaeval books was the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, who died in 1298, as Bishop of Genoa. This collection of legends about the saints, from the time of the Apostles to that of the author, speedily made its way, in many different versions, into all spoken languages (into the Anglo-Saxon world as Caxton's Golden Legend) and did more than any other work to cultivate a spirit of piety among the common people. The new German translation by *Benz* deserves attention both because the translator has managed to preserve the charm of the original without sacrificing strict scholarly standards, and because of the sumptuous form of publication, which is quite equal to that of incunabula, and will delight the bibliophile. It is a

fine specimen of what German book-craft can produce even under post-war difficulties. The translator has added an admirable introduction, permeated by the spirit of mediaeval piety.

JOAN OF ARC. Although in France many works on the Maid of Orleans appeared from year to year in anticipation of her canonization in 1920, in Germany only one work, but that a scholarly one, is to be noted. In continuing the studies which he began in SAW in 1913, *Prutz* emphasizes the narratives of contemporary writers, in contrast to the early crop of legends. One of the best of these writers was Perceval de Cagny, known also for his contributions to the genealogy of the dukes of Alençon and to the general history of France. His plain statements, free from fantastic enthusiasm, deserve far more consideration as an authority than they have hitherto enjoyed. *Prutz* indeed believes that the real historical figure of Jeanne d'Arc is nowhere else preserved to us. He himself endeavors to present the true picture in the sharpest possible lines, with reference to the examination of Joan at Poitiers and to her conduct on the march to Orleans and at the relief of the city. The ordinary accounts, especially of her direction of military operations and of her strategic ability, do not bear close examination. If the captains yielded to the judgment of the Maid, it was because they had to reckon with the wave of popular feeling which she personified. Indeed, in the very fact of her power so successfully to control this popular sentiment may lie the secret of that personality which, in spite of critical scruples, still remains a marvel.

NICHOLAS OF THE FLÜE. On the 17th of May, 1917, the Swiss celebrated the five hundredth anniversary of the birth of "Brother Klaus," whose place in the hearts of the people is higher than that of many a saint, although his rank in the church is only that of *beatus*. He lived for many years as a recluse in his cell not far from the Lake of Sarnen, near Sachseln, and had a reputation for constancy in prayer and fasting, even receiving nourishment only in the sacrament. In the history of the Swiss confederation he won an honorable name through his activity as mediator in 1481, which helped to avoid

civil war between the cantons. *Durrer* has collected all the original documents that concern Brother Klaus and printed them in the original wording, with an excellent German version of the corrupt and difficult text and critical notes which throw light on the history of the hermit. The book is fully illustrated, and libraries will do well to secure copies without delay, as the edition is small and will soon be exhausted. — *Herzog*, bishop of the "Christkatholische Kirche" in Switzerland, has succeeded in proving that Klaus is to be counted among the "Gottesfreunde" of Upper Germany, of whom we get so clear an idea from the writings of Rulman Merswin of Strasburg. In this connection he is inclined to restore to life the famous "Friend of God in the Oberland" (Nicholas of Basel?) whom Denifle's criticism had previously, as it seemed, shown to be an invention of Merswin's. — *Oehl*, while not knowing *Herzog's* book, stoutly denies the historical existence of this Friend of God, but holds that Brother Klaus represents the highest point, and the conclusion, of this wide-spread movement, with which he certainly was connected. Both works add to our knowledge of this significant phase of mediaeval piety. Many other books and articles, of which those of more lasting importance are named in the bibliography, were called out by the anniversary of Brother Klaus.

NORBERT OF PRÉMONTRÉ. *Wozasek* gives a careful compilation of the known material, taken from other published accounts, paying special attention to the social activities of the saint.

OTMAR OF ST. GALL. The greater part of *Vetter's* book is devoted to the history of the veneration of Otmar in the liturgy and in popular usage. He has made a thorough study, bringing out a great number of interesting details significant of social conditions of the time. — His comments on the life of the abbot and his legal discussion of the ecclesiastical suit for separation of the monastery from the bishopric of Constance are severely criticized by *Scheiwiller*, who adds noteworthy remarks of his own on the subject.

TEMPLARS. The work of *Schüpferling*, a pupil of Schnürer, is mainly devoted to an account of the fortunes of the order,

elucidated by seventeen hitherto unpublished documents, but he discusses also the question, important for general secular history, of its extinction. He has his own view of Finke's conclusions, but agrees with him that the French king was the real power, the pope only his tool.

THOMAS À BECKET. Many lives of the famous archbishop appeared within a few decades after his murder, and *Thiemke* discusses the precipitate of these stories found in the Gloucester legend. This is closely related to the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, but arose earlier, about 1270, and is the finest of all the legends of southern England. Thiemke's critical text is based on thirteen manuscripts.

IX. SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY

a. General

Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen. Hrsg. von Clemens Baeumker. Bde. 13 ff. Münster, Aschendorff, 1914-1920. — *Divus Thomas.* Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie. Hrsg. von Ernst Commer. 1.-7. Jahrgang. Vienna and Berlin. 1914-1920. — *Dörholt, Bernhard,* Der Predigerorden und seine Theologie (expanded from DTh 3, 1916, 462-590). iv, 161 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1917. — *Ehrle, Franz,* Die Ehrentitel der scholastischen Lehrer des Mittelalters (SAM 1919, 9. Abh.). 60 pp. — *Endres, Joseph Anton,* Forschungen zur Geschichte der frühmittelalterlichen Philosophie. (BGPhM 17, 2. 3, 1915.) vii, 152 pp. — *Espenberger, Johann Nepomuk,* Grund und Gewissheit des übernatürlichen Glaubens in der Hoch- und Spätscholastik (FLDG 13, 1, 1915). viii, 178 pp. — *Gillmann, Franz,* Zur Lehre der Scholastik vom Spender der Firmung und des Weihesakraments. 235 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1920; Die Nothwendigkeit der Intention auf Seiten des Spenders und des Empfängers der Sakramente nach der Anschauung der Frühscholastik. (Der Katholik 96, 1, 1916, 432-449; 96, 2, 1916, 40-55, 99-115, 163-179). — *Grabmann, Martin,* Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristoteles-Uebersetzungen des 13. Jahrhunderts (BGPhM 17, 5. 6, 1916). xxvii, 270 pp.; Über Wert und Methode des Studiums der scholastischen Handschriften (ZkTh 39, 1915, 699-740). — *Hoffmann, Georg,* Der Streit über die selige Schau Gottes (1331-1338). 194 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1917. — *Jellouschek, Carl Johann,* Zur Lehre der Unterscheidung von Wesenheit und Dasein in der Scholastik des Predigerordens (DTh 3, 1916, 637-656). — *Klingseis, Rupert,* Das aristotelische Tugendprinzip der richtigen Mitte in der Scholastik (DTh 7, 1920, 33-49, 142-172, 269-288). — *Ljunggren, Gustaf,* Zur Geschichte der christlichen Heilsgewissheit. 8, 328 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1920. — *Overbeck, Franz,* Vorgeschichte und Jugend der mittelalterlichen Scholastik. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Carl Albrecht Bernoulli, xii, 315 pp. Basel, Schwabe,

1917.—*Rolfes, Eugen*, Zur Kontroverse über die Körperlehre in der griechischen und scholastischen Philosophie (DTh 4, 1917, 381–435).—*Schedler, Philipp M.*, Die Philosophie des Macrobius und ihr Einfluss auf die Wissenschaft des christlichen Mittelalters (BGPhM 13, 1, 1916). xii, 162 pp.—*Schneider, Artur*, Die abendländische Spekulation des 12. Jahrhunderts in ihrem Verhältnis zur aristotelischen und jüdisch-arabischen Philosophie (BGPhM 17, 4, 1915). viii, 76 pp.—*Schultes, Reginald Maria*, Geschichte der *Fides implicita* in der katholischen Theologie (DTh 5, 1918, 39–74, 158–181, 320–338; 6, 1919, 45–60, 153–167, 266–299, 325–399).—*Vansteenberghe, E.*, Autour de la Docte Ignorance. Une controverse sur la théologie mystique au XV^e siècle (BGPhM 14, 2–4, 1915). vi, 220 pp.

It should be observed that the works discussed in the following pages are intended for a limited group of scholars; but the famous encyclical of Leo XIII (1878) put scholastic and especially Thomistic philosophy and theology in a position which has led to more and more active interest among Catholic scholars, while Protestant theologians are likewise taking a larger share in it since they have come to see how necessary a more thorough knowledge of scholasticism is for the understanding of Luther's development. In this field, unlike that of patristics, Protestant scholars are behind the Catholics, and are responsible for scarcely half a dozen of the writings here cited. Interest is fairly evenly divided among the different periods of scholasticism, but the importance of early scholasticism, especially that of the twelfth century, has recently been more clearly perceived. A gratifying tendency shows itself to accumulate fresh material for the study, as is evident from the large number of critical editions of the famous, as well as of the less known or quite unknown, scholastic writings.

At the head of the bibliography are two serial publications edited by Catholic scholars. The *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, which appear at irregular intervals, have the same importance for the scholastic period that Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* have for the patristic. No less than twenty-three of the works on our list belong in this series, all of them genuine contributions to scholarship.—The quarterly journal *Divus Thomas*, being the second series of the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie*, is primarily intended for systematic research, and it serves, as the new title indicates, to promote studies founded on the teachings

of Thomas Aquinas. It prints also articles on the history of dogma. The more important are mentioned in our bibliography, but not always discussed separately. Both of these publications are indispensable for any serious study of mediaeval philosophy and theology, and should be found in American libraries.

Two of the books mentioned are, in subject and treatment, of a comprehensive character. *Overbeck's* († June 26, 1905) account of scholasticism in the early Middle Ages, consists of his university lectures at Basel. It would not be easy to find elsewhere a treatment of this difficult subject so learned and at the same time so fresh. The main divisions of the book are: (1) ancient learning and the beginning of the Middle Ages; (2) ecclesiastical learning under the Carolingians; (3) decline; and transition to mediaeval theology proper; (4) the early period of scholastic theology, to the discovery of the complete Aristotle (ca. 1200). The first of these divisions is especially interesting; the characterization of Abaelard is noteworthy. — *Ljunggren*, a young Swedish scholar, has also dealt successfully with a large subject. The problem of the assurance of salvation was brought into the foreground by Luther, and in the new answer which he gave to the old problem was involved his opposition to the Catholic form of religion. In order to understand the origin and nature of evangelical piety as defined by Luther, it is indispensable to study the earlier views of *fiducia* as the characteristic element of piety, and to take into account the whole complex of motives and ideas that belong with it. To give an exhaustive account of this development would require whole volumes, and *Ljunggren* has done well to confine himself to the two main periods, namely, Augustine and the great period of Scholasticism. He shows that Augustine comes very close to the essential principle of the evangelical conception, in teaching that man's despair of his own power, due to his sense of personal sin and weakness, must be transformed into a deep trust in God's grace and assistance. On the other hand, the theologians of the great scholastic period by their rigid systematization so largely emptied of personal content the idea of *spes* and its equivalent *fiducia*, and so limited

it, that the notion of an impersonal and materialistic (*dingliche*) grace appears at every point as the fundamental error of their system. The merit of Ljunggren's work is that he not only refers us to the original sources, but quotes largely from them. Even in the case of Augustine this is not superfluous, for while scholars are familiar with the chief passages, they are by no means in agreement as to his position on the assurance of salvation, and an exact consideration of the evidence is incumbent on every student. For the schoolmen other than Thomas Aquinas the material itself is not easily accessible.

In *Schedler's* book on Macrobius, author (ca. 400 A.D.) of a commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and of a dialogue on all sorts of antiquarian topics entitled *Saturnalia*, the first part, reviewing his not very original philosophy, is of less interest than the second, which describes his influence on mediaeval Christian thought. His writings were in vogue in the circles of literary culture down to the fifteenth century, and hence were in a position to influence the speculations of the schools. To show this in detail is Schedler's aim. It appears that Macrobius was the medium through which scholasticism received its Platonic and neo-platonic ideas, and that his philosophy, like that of Boethius, must be regarded as one of the channels for the concepts and ideas of ancient metaphysical philosophy. — *Endres* uses familiar material, but his analysis of many little-noticed writings of the early scholastic period makes no small contribution to our understanding of the historical connections. — *Grabmann* has already become favorably known by his excellent book on the history of scholastic method, of which two volumes have been published (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1909, 1911), and during the further course of his great work of research he now and then gives us a glimpse into his workshop. Taking up the much-discussed question of the discovery and acceptance of Aristotle's writings among European scholars, he shows that even the treatises on physics and metaphysics were known much earlier than is commonly supposed. A comprehensive discussion of the authorities for the text gives information as to some important manuscripts not hitherto published. His article in *ZkTh* treats of the method

to be followed in the use of such manuscripts. For comment on his valuable studies of individual schoolmen, see below. — *Schneider* also points out that the decided turn toward Aristotelian studies about the year 1200 was foreshadowed in the preceding period, and that it is wrong to speak either of a radical abandonment of former tendencies or of a new creation of philosophical conceptions and points of view. He treats in detail the relations of early scholasticism to Aristotelian logic and metaphysic. — *Espenberger* points out that the problem of the basis and certitude of supernatural faith had already been raised by early scholasticism and that the writers of the great period only analyzed and systematized the question, although in a form unknown to the earlier centuries. He groups the great scholastics whose work he discusses, according to their various interpretations of the *habitus fidei*, as voluntarists (Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, etc.), intellectualists (Thomas, etc.), intermediates (Durandus of St. Pourçain), and pure nominalists (Occam, d'Ailly, Biel), the last comprising those theologians who expressly dissociated faith and knowledge, and so destroyed the former foundation. — *Hoffmann* (now professor in the Protestant faculty at Breslau) is the first writer to devote an exhaustive monograph to the dispute over the *visio beatifica*, which, in consequence of Pope John XXII's ecclesiastically incorrect attitude toward this eschatological problem, raised so much dust in the years 1331–1338, and which is mentioned by all textbooks on church history and the history of dogma. He has made a real contribution to knowledge, for he has not only given a detailed account of what actually took place, according to the authorities, but has brought out clearly and acutely the relations of this controversy to the history of dogma. (See von Zychlinski below.) — *Hoffmann's* earlier work in three volumes on the doctrine of the *fides implicita* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1905–1909), being written by a Protestant, naturally called for reëxamination from the Catholic side. This has been made by *Schultes*, who in his scholarly discussion of *Hoffmann's* views, presents also his own summary of the history of this important doctrine. This may profitably be consulted in addition to *Hoffmann's*. — *Docta ignorantia* is the

title of a famous tract of Nicholas of Cusa which caused much agitation among the monasteries of Bavaria and Tyrol about the middle of the fifteenth century. It deals with the old controversy about the primacy of the intellect or of the will and affections (intellectualism and voluntarism), which was here kindled anew in connection with the mystical elevation of the heart to God. This dispute is vividly brought before us by *Vansteenberghe* in a series of newly published documents.

Gillmann, professor of ecclesiastical law at the University of Würzburg, treats the question whether, and how far, in the teachings of the schoolmen, clergy other than bishops were deemed qualified, like bishops, to administer confirmation and the sacrament of consecration. As early as Gregory the Great, priests of Sardinia were allowed the right of confirmation, but Gratian, the great teacher of ecclesiastical law in the twelfth century, was the first to make this matter of papal regulation the subject of canonistic discussion. Papalists declare that confirmation derives its validity from the delegation of the pope, not from that of a bishop, and that the pope can grant even to mere priests the right to consecrate, excepting of course in the case of consecrating a bishop. Tracing this problem through the three periods of scholasticism down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, *Gillmann* mentions a number of interesting points of detail that other scholars have either slighted or overlooked. The matter is somewhat important for literary history; and in a separate article he proves, in contrast to the general assumption hitherto, that the so-called *glossa ordinaria* of the *Decretum Gratiani* cannot have arisen before the Lateran Council of 1215, for it presupposes the decisions rendered by that council. — *Dörholt's* well-written paper on the history and theology of the Dominican order was published in honor of the 700th anniversary of the order. He refers with pardonable pride to the fact that the theology which arose and flourished within the order has been proclaimed by the pope as the theology of the church. His historical survey, which is the reason for our mention here, testifies to thorough knowledge of the subject and constitutes a scholarly introduction to it.

b. *Scholastic Philosophers*

ABAEIARD. *Geyer, Bernhard*, Peter Abaelards philosophische Schriften, zum ersten Male herausgegeben. I. Die Logica ingredientibus. 1. Die Glossen zu Porphyrius. 2. Die Glossen zu den Kategorien (BGPhM 21, 1. 2, 1919, 1921). xi, 1-109, 110-305 pp.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS. *Geyer, Bernhard*, Die Uebersetzungen der aristotelischen Metaphysik bei Albertus Magnus und Thomas von Aquin (PhJbG 30, 1917, 392-415). — *Grabmann, Martin*, Drei ungedruckte Teile der Summa de creaturis Alberts des Grossen (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland 13). 87 pp. Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1919. — *Herling, Georg von*, Albertus Magnus. Beiträge zu seiner Würdigung. 2. Aufl. (BGPhM 14, 5. 6, 1914). viii, 183 pp. — *Horváth, Alexander*, Albert der Grosse und Thomas von Aquino als Begründer der christlichen Philosophie (DTh 3, 1916, 591-636). — *Loß, Paulus Maria von*, Alberts des Grossen Homilie zu Luc. 11, 27. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben. 57 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1916. — *Pelster, Franz, S.J.*, Kritische Studien zum Leben und zu den Schriften Alberts des Grossen (Ergänzungshefte zu StZ 2, 4, 1920). xv, 179 pp. — *Stadler, Hermann*, Albertus Magnus: De animalibus libri xxvi. Nach der Cölnner Urschrift herausgegeben. 1. Band: Buch 1-12. 2. Band: Buch 13-26 (BGPhM 15, 1916; 23, 1920). xxvi, 842; 843-1664 pp.

ALBERT OF ORLAMÜNDE. *Grabmann, Martin*, Die Philosophia Pauperum und ihr Verfasser, Albert von Orlamünde (BGPhM 20, 2, 1918). viii, 56 pp.

ALEXANDER OF HALES. *Minges, Parthenius*, Exzerpte aus Alexander von Hales bei Vincenz von Beauvais (FrSt 1, 1914, 52-65); Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen Alexander von Hales und Albert dem Grossen (FrSt 2, 1915, 208-229); Die psychologische Summe des Johannes von Rupella und Alexander von Hales (FrSt 3, 1916, 365-378).

ALFARABI. *Baeumker, Clemens*, Alfarabi über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften (de ortu scientiarum) (BGPhM 19, 3, 1916). iv, 32 pp.

ANSELM OF CANTERBURY. *Müller, Max*, Anselm von Canterbury. Das Verhältnis seiner Spekulationen zum theologischen Begriff des Übernatürlichen. Munich dissertation. 114 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1914.

ANSELM OF LAON. *Bliemetzrieder, Franz Paul*, Anselms von Laon systematische Sentenzen, herausgegeben, eingeleitet und philosophie- und unterrichtsgeschichtlich untersucht (BGPhM 18, 2. 3, 1919). xxv, 37, 167 pp.

ANTONIUS OF FLORENCE. *Bürck, Franz Joseph*, Die Psychologie des heiligen Antonius von Florenz. Dissertation. 69 pp. Bonn, Ludwig, 1916.

ROGER BACON. *Baeumker, Clemens*, Roger Bacons Naturphilosophie, insbesondere seine Lehren von Materie und Form, Individuation und Universalität (FrSt 3, 1916, 1-40, 109-139). v, 74 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1916.

BONAVENTURA. *Israel, Gerhard*, Die Tugendlehre Bonaventuras. Erlangen dissertation. 77 pp. Berlin, Ebering, 1914. — *Kattum, Franz Xaver*, Die Eucharistielehre des heiligen Bonaventura. Munich dissertation.

196 pp. Munich-Freising, Datterer, 1920. — *Leonissa, Josef*, Zur Mystik des heiligen Bonaventura (DTh 5, 1918, 215–254).

DUNS SCOTUS. *Heidegger, Martin*, Die Kategorien- und Bedeutungslehre des Duns Scotus. vii, 245 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1916. — *Klein, Joseph*, Zur Sittenlehre des Joh. Duns Scotus (FrSt 1, 1914, 401–437; 2, 1915, 137–169); Die Immaterialität der Engel und [der] Menschenseelen nach Johannes de Duns Scotus (FrSt 3, 1916, 400–403); Intellekt und Wille als die nächsten Quellen der sittlichen Akte nach Johannes de Duns Scotus (FrSt 6, 1919, 107–122, 213–234, 295–322; 7, 1920, 118–134, 190–213). — *Klug, Hubert*, Die Lehre des Johannes de Duns Skotus über Materie und Form nach den Quellen dargestellt (PhJbG 30, 1917, 44–78). — *Minges, Parthenius*, Zur Erkenntnislehre des Duns Scotus (PhJbG 31, 1918, 52–74); Zur Trinitätslehre des Duns Scotus (FrSt 6, 1919, 24–35). See also under William of Ware.

ERIGENA. *Lehmann, Paul*, Zur Kenntnis und Geschichte einiger Johannes Scotus zugeschriebener Werke (Hermes 52, 1917, 112–124).

FRANCIS OF RETZ. *Häfele, Gallus N.*, Franz von Retz. Ein Beitrag zur Gelehrten Geschichte des Dominikanerordens und der Wiener Universität am Ausgange des Mittelalters. xxiv, 422 pp. Innsbruck, 1918.

GREGORY OF RIMINI. *Würadörfer, Joseph*, Erkennen und Wissen nach Gregor von Rimini. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Erkenntnistheorie des Nominalismus (BGPhM 20, 1, 1917), viii, 139 pp.

GROSSETESTE. *Baur, Ludwig*, Die Philosophie des Robert Grosseteste, Bischof von Lincoln (BGPhM 18, 4–6, 1917). xvi, 298 pp. — *Vogelsang, Friedrich*, Der Begriff der Freiheit bei Robert Grosseteste. 105 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1915.

HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS. *Baeumker, Franz*, Das Inevitable des Honorius Augustodunensis und dessen Lehre über das Zusammenwirken von Wille und Gnade (BGPhM 13, 6, 1914). vi, 94 pp.

HRABANUS MAURUS. *Hablitzel, Johann Baptista*, Hrabanus Maurus und Claudius von Turin (HJG 38, 1917, 538–552).

JOHN OF NAPLES. *Jellouschek, Carl Johann*, Johannes von Neapel und seine Lehre vom Verhältnis zwischen Gott und Welt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der ältesten Thomistenschule. xvi, 128 pp. Vienna, Mayer, 1918.

LEONARDUS A VALLE BRIXIENSI. *Jellouschek, Carl Johann*, Des Leonardus a Valle Brixiensi Untersuchungen über die Praedestination (DTh 7, 1920, 107–141).

LULLUS. *Probst, Jean*, La Mystique de Ramon Lull et l'Art de contemplacio (BGPhM 13, 2, 3, 1914). viii, 126 pp.

NICOLAUS E MIRABILIBUS. *Jellouschek, Carl Johann*, Des Nicolaus e Mirabilibus O. Pr. Abhandlung über die Praedestination. Nach Cod. 1566 der Wiener Bibliothek herausgegeben. viii, 59 pp. Vienna, Mayer, 1918.

PECHAM. *Oligier, Livarius*, Die theologische Quaestion des Johannes Pecham über die vollkommene Armut (FrSt 4, 1917, 127–176). — *Pestors*,

Emil, Vier Prosen des Johannes Pecham (FrSt 4, 1917, 355–367). — **Spettmann**, *Hieronymus, O. F. M.*, Johannis Pechami quaestiones tractantes de anima, quae nunc primum in lucem edidit notisque illustravit H. S. (BGPhM 19, 5. 6, 1918). xl, 224 pp.; Die Psychologie des Johannes Pecham (ibid., 20, 6, 1919). x, 102 pp.; Quellenkritisches zur Biographie des Johannes Pecham (FrSt 2, 1915, 170–207, 266–285).

PETRUS DE HIBERNIA. *Baeumker, Clemens*, Petrus de Hibernia, der Jugendlehrer des Thomas von Aquino und seine Disputation vor König Manfred (SAM, 1920, 8. Abh.). 52 pp.

PETER LOMBARD. *Smisniewicz, Leon M.*, Die Lehre von den Ehehindernissen bei Petrus Lombardus und bei seinen Kommentatoren Albert dem Grossen, Thomas von Aquino, Bonaventura und Scotus. Freiburg i. B. dissertation. xvi, 258 pp. Posen, Wieniewicz, 1917.

RAPHAEL OF PORNASSIO. *Michel, Karl*, Der Liber de consonancia nature et gracie, des Raphael von Pornaxio (BGPhM 18, 1, 1915). x, 62 pp.

RATHERIUS OF VERONA. *Schwark, Bruno*, Bischof Rather von Verona als Theologe. Dissertation. v, 163 pp. Königsberg, Teichert, 1915.

RICHARD OF MEDIAVILLA. *Minges, Parthenius*, Scotistisches bei Richard von Mediavilla (ThQ 99, 1917–1918, 60–69; 100, 1919, 269–300).

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR. *Ebner, Joseph*, Die Erkenntnislehre Richards von St. Victor (BGPhM 19, 4, 1917). viii, 126 pp.

SERVASANCTUS. *Grabmann, Martin*, Der Liber de exemplis naturalibus des Franziskaner-Theologen Servasactus (FrSt 7, 1920, 85–117). — *Kruitwagen, Bonaventura*, Das Antidotarium animae von Frater Servasactus O. F. M. (Wiegendrucke und Handschriften. Festgabe für Konrad Häbler, 80–106). Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1919.

THOMAS AQUINAS. *Beemelmans, Friedrich*, Zeit und Ewigkeit nach Thomas von Aquino (BGPhM 17, 1, 1914). vi, 64 pp. — *Feldner, Gundisalv*, Die Tätigkeit der Geschöpfe nach St. Thomas von Aquino (DTh 4, 1917, 277–321; 5, 1918, 27–44; 136–153). — *Geyer, Bernhard*, D. Thomae Aquinatis summae theologiae partis primae quaestiones 75–77 de essentia et potentiis animae in generali una cum Guilelmi de la Mare correctorii articulo octavo (Florilegium patristicum 14). xx, 66 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1920. — *Grabmann, Martin*, Thomas von Aquino. Eine Einführung in seine Persönlichkeit und Gedankenwelt. 3. Aufl. vi, 169 pp. Kempten and Munich, Kösel, 1917; Einführung in die Summa Theologiae des heiligen Thomas von Aquino. viii, 134 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1919; Die echten Schriften des heiligen Thomas von Aquino (BGPhM 22, 1. 2, 1920). viii, 275 pp.; Thomas von Aquin und Petrus von Hibernia (PhJbG 33, 1920, 347–362). — *Kolb, Viktor*, Kurzer Abriss der Tugendlehre nach dem heiligen Kirchenlehrer Thomas von Aquino. x, 182 pp. Vienna, Mayer, 1918. — *Langenberg, G.*, Des heiligen Thomas Lehre vom Unendlichen und die neuere Mathematik (PhJbG 3, 1917, 79–97, 172–191). — *Leonissa, Josef*, Zur Mystik des heiligen Thomas von Aquin (DTh 3, 1916, 232–255). — *Mausbach, Joseph*, Grundlage und Ausbildung des Characters nach dem heiligen Thomas von Aquin. 2. u. 3. Aufl. vii, 146 pp. Freiburg, Herder,

1920; *Ausgewählte Texte zur allgemeinen Moral aus den Werken des heiligen Thomas von Aquin*. 2. Aufl. viii, 116 pp. Münster, Aschendorff, 1920. — *Michelitsch, Anton*, Kommentatoren zur Summa Theologiae des heiligen Thomas von Aquin (DTh 3, 1916, 260–291; 4, 1917, 116–152, 463–472; 5, 1918, 365–380; 6, 1919, 113–135, 315–325). — *Müller, Wilhelm*, Der Staat in seinen Beziehungen zur sittlichen Ordnung bei Thomas von Aquin (BGPhM 19, 1, 1916). 99 pp. — *Pelster, Franz*, Der Katalog des Bartholomaeus von Capua und die Echtheitsfrage bei den Schriften des heiligen Thomas von Aquino (ZkTh 41, 1917, 820–832). — *Pfeiffer, N.*, Die Klugheit in der Ethik von Aristoteles und Thomas von Aquin. xi, 44 pp. Freiburg i. S., Paul, 1918. — *Rackl, Michael*, Die ungedruckte Verteidigungsschrift des Demetrios Kydones für Thomas von Aquin gegen Neilos Kabasilas (DTh 7, 1920, 303–317). — *Rolfes, Eugen*, Die Philosophie von Thomas von Aquin. In Auszügen aus seinen Schriften (Philosophische Bibliothek, 100). xi, 224 pp. Leipzig, Meiner, 1920. — *Schilling, Otto*, Politik und Moral nach Thomas von Aquin (ThQ 99, 1917–1918, 79–98). — *Schulemann, Günther*, Das Kausalprinzip in der Philosophie des heiligen Thomas von Aquin (BGPhM 13, 5, 1915). xviii, 116 pp. — *Zychlinski, Alexander von*, Die species impressa et expressa beim beseligenden Schauakt nach der Lehre des heiligen Thomas von Aquin. Breslau dissertation. Breslau, Fleischmann, 1918.

WILLIAM OF AUXERRE. *Gillmann, Franz*, Zur Sakramentenlehre des Wilhelms von Auxerre. 43 pp. Würzburg, Bauch, 1918. — *Strake, Joseph*, Die Sakramentenlehre des Wilhelms von Auxerre (FLDG 13, 5, 1917). xiv, 220 pp.

WILLIAM OF WARE. *Daniels, Augustinus*, Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Wilhelm von Ware und Johannes Duns Scotus (FrSt 4, 1917, 221–238).

We will make the transition to works on individual schoolmen with *Ehrle's* admirable study (supra, I). It is well known that the great schoolmen were known by honorary titles such as *doctor profundus*, *resolutus*, *subtilis*, *venerabilis*, but in the manuscripts the titles not infrequently occur without mention of any names. To prepare from the manuscripts a catalogue of these titles with explanations of their history and significance was a fit task for the long-time head of the Vatican Library. These titles first appear in the fourteenth century, and then only for a few preëminent scholars, such as Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. Later they became more common, and in the fifteenth century catalogues of them began to be made. It is interesting to note that the title *doctor angelicus*, by which, and which alone, Thomas is now known, did not supplant his earlier title of *doctor communis* until the fifteenth century, when in the heat of the battle between Franciscans and Dominicans 'common doctor' was transformed into a term of contempt.

ABAEALARD.¹³ Abaelard's influence on the development of scholastic philosophy cannot be too highly rated, and it is of much importance that his two writings on logic, hitherto unpublished, are now made accessible in a critical edition by *Geyer*. Of the two works, known from their opening words as *Logica ingredientibus* and *Logica nostrorum petitioni sociorum*, the former is contained in the Milan codex M 63 sup., and was rediscovered by Grabmann after Antonio Rosmini had used it more than half a century earlier. It shows Abaelard on his best side as a keen and independent thinker, and will put his often debated attitude on universals in a new light.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS. The great German schoolman of the thirteenth century, whose fame stands for the time being somewhat in the background as compared with that of his pupil Thomas, has lately begun to receive more attention. The best estimate of him is that of *Freiherr von Hertling*, the professor of philosophy who, at the end of the War, undertook the heavy responsibility of the imperial chancellorship. He has thoroughly revised his article, first published in 1880, and has brought it into accord with the latest investigations. — *Pelster's* book consists of preliminary studies for a critical biography, the fruit of thorough work and marking a long step in advance. He deals first with the mediaeval legends, and traces them back to an early common original, dating probably from the first decades of the fourteenth century. In the second part he studies the chronology of the life of Albertus, and in the third the order and dates of his philosophical and dogmatic writings. Unfortunately the information, at least that relating to the first half of the great scholar's life, is so scanty and so full of contradictions that even Pelster's inquiry has not succeeded in establishing every date beyond controversy. Even the year of his birth is not certain; with the writings we are on firmer ground. Pelster's results here will be the foundation of further research. He agrees with Geyer in placing in the later part of Albert's life his activity as a commentator on Aristotle's works. — For all future work critically trustworthy texts are the first requisite,

¹³ According to the best manuscripts, as Geyer shows, this name should be pronounced Abaëlard, in four syllables.

and this *Stadler* has provided for the *De animalibus*, using the original autograph now preserved in the archives of Cologne. Besides establishing the text, he has worked out the author's relation to his sources, and finds that he was by no means so independent of others as the manuals usually state, following Prantl in his *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*. What the writer borrowed from earlier descriptions exceeds in amount his own observations. That a publishing house in these difficult times should have issued such an *ingens opus* (1664 pp.) is certainly a proof of courage. — A hitherto unknown continuation of the chief work of Albert's earlier years, the *Summa de creaturis*, has been discovered by *Grabmann* in Venice and Rome. It contains Ethics (*tractatus de bono sive de virtutibus*), the doctrine of the Sacraments (*de sacramentis*), and Eschatology (*de resurrectione*). *Grabmann* gives the results of his investigation, with a full statement of the contents of the treatises. We can only wish that these texts, so important for the understanding of Albert's theology, might soon be published. — *Von Loë* publishes a sermon by Albert on Luke 11, 17, which, as he shows, was delivered before the clergy of the Liebfrauenkirche of Trier not long after 1260.

ALBERT OF ORLAMÜNDE. *Philosophia pauperum* is the title of an outline of natural philosophy which was used as a textbook in the German city schools toward the end of the Middle Ages. *Grabmann* proves the usual assumption to be wrong, that the author was Albertus Magnus, and finds it highly probable that the book was written by Albert of Orlamünde, a fourteenth century Dominican monk. He introduces us also to the commentaries on the book, or rather abridgments of it, among which the *Parvulus philosophiae* was the most widely used.

ALFARABI. A document of some importance for the transition from early to middle scholasticism is the little treatise by the Arab Alfarabi, on the origin of the sciences. It gives a convenient survey of the classification of all branches of learning which, in dependence on the Greeks, were received and cultivated by Arabic-speaking scholars. The Arabic original is apparently lost. The Latin version, which was eagerly con-

by European scholars, is probably the work of Dominicus Gundissalinus, archdeacon in Segovia. It is published by *Baeumker* from five manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

ANSELM OF LAON. Even before Anselm of Canterbury, Anselm of Laon (†1117) had created the general type of mediaeval thought. As the first of the *sententiarii*, he deserves the title of a "father of scholasticism" even more than the more famous Anselm, but his works have until now been entirely neglected, and *Bliemetzrieder* has performed a useful service in taking hold of him in scholarly spirit. He publishes the texts called in the manuscripts *Sententiae divinae paginae* and *Sententiae Anselmi*, and promises later a critical and historical estimate, with special reference to Anselm's influence on his contemporaries and successors. We look forward with much interest to the work of this well-trained scholar.

ROGER BACON. *Baeumker's* essay is a discussion of Hugo Höver's book on Bacon's hylomorphism (Limburg, 1912). He finds too little emphasis put on the element of natural philosophy and natural science in Bacon's philosophy, but does not himself fill the gap.

BONAVENTURA. *Leonissa* gives a detailed account of the mystical ideas of the *doctor seraphicus*, based on his *Itinerarium*, *Breviloquium*, and *De donis spiritus*.

DUNS SCOTUS. *Heidegger* does not so much expound the great Franciscan's logic and theory of knowledge as point out instructively the lines which connect that theory with modern philosophy (Husserl, Rickert, etc.).

FRANCIS OF RETZ. This Dominican († 1427), a professor at the University of Vienna, is not one of the leading figures of late scholasticism, but *Häfele*, in a thorough monograph, has found in him some interesting traits, and has traced both his scholarly work and his influence on religion and morals. In the chapter on his work for reform there are passages of an interest for the history of civilization well beyond the strict limits of the main subject. The plates are taken from manuscripts and the earliest editions.

GREGORY OF RIMINI. The Augustinian monk, Gregory of

Rimini († 1338), who was made general of the order shortly before his death, a keen antagonist of Duns Scotus and, as a nominalist, a pupil of William of Occam, is of importance in the study of Luther by reason of his commentary on Peter Lombard. After a biographical introduction *Würzdörfer* treats his psychology, theory of knowledge (*Erkenntnistheorie*), and conception of knowing and knowledge (*Wissen und Wissenschaft*), and shows that Gregory, although in general a precursor of the modern empirical tendency, did not succeed in attaining perfect clearness in his theory of knowledge.

GROSSETESTE. Grosseteste's position in scholastic philosophy is determined by his adherence to the tradition of Augustine and Anselm, in opposition to the Aristotelian school, represented especially by Thomas. In this he was the predecessor of Duns Scotus. By his writing on natural science he laid the foundation of the empiristic tendency of scholasticism, and although here his dependence on Aristotle must be acknowledged, yet his innovations through the use of mathematics and of experiments mark him as a pioneer. This is clearly brought out in *Baur's* able work. — *Vogelsang*, in discussing Grosseteste's treatise *De libero arbitrio*, shows that he was influenced by Augustine and Bernard, but still more by Anselm.

HONORIUS AUGUSTODUNENSIS. The Benedictine Honorius is a copious but neglected writer of the first half of the twelfth century. Probably of English birth, he belonged to the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury (hence properly *Augustinensis*), and later was active in Germany. *Baeumker*, a son of the well known professor of philosophy at Munich, discusses one of his writings, *Inevitabile sive de predestinatione et libero arbitrio inter magistrum et discipulum dialogus*. It is preserved in two forms, commonly designated by the names of the first editors; Cassander (1552; new issue by Kelle, SAW 150, 1904, 3. Abh.) and Conen (Antwerp, 1621; Migne, ser. lat. 172). The original text is that given by Cassander; Conen's is a revision influenced by Anselm's writings.

HRABANUS MAURUS. *Hablitzel* proves that in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew Hrabanus used the com-

mentary by Claudian of Turin, but without naming it among his sources.

JOHN OF NAPLES. The Dominican Johannes de Regina, from Naples, belongs to the second generation of the pupils of Thomas Aquinas. He was present at the ceremony of canonization at Avignon in 1323, and is to be reckoned among the earliest of the commentators. His own work, *Quaestiones disputatae* (Naples, 1628), not without importance for the history of Thomistic doctrine, receives for the first time an exhaustive critical treatment from *Jellouschek*.

LEONARDUS A VALLE BRIXIENSI. The Dominican Leonhard Huntpeichler († 1478), from Tyrol, taught in Vienna. *Jellouschek* publishes his *Inquisitiones de praedestinatione*, not previously printed, from Cod. Monac. 18606.

LULLUS. The Franciscan Raimundus Lullus is usually judged by his *Ars magna* as an example of the strange constructions of thought in which the schoolmen could lose their way, but his *Liber contemplationis* shows him as a simple soul of pious feeling, *doctor illuminatus*, and is to be ranked as one of the most original of the mystical writings of the Middle Ages. The *Art de contemplacio* is published by *Probst* in the Catalan dialect from Cod. Monac. 67 (14th cent.), with an analysis of the work and a thorough examination of its ideas.

PECHAM. John Pecham or Peckham, the first Franciscan to become Archbishop of Canterbury, had earlier been a professor at Paris. As a zealous defender of neo-platonic Augustinianism against the doctrine of Aristotle, he stood in direct opposition to Thomas. *Spettmann* has collected and critically examined the meagre notices of his life, and does good service in publishing for the first time his *Quaestiones de anima* from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence. His analysis of the sources, although necessarily incomplete, is especially welcome. — From the same manuscript *Oliger* publishes Pecham's hitherto unknown *Quaestio* on complete poverty, with which he took his part in the controversy over the mendicant orders. — Pecham was also a poet, and *Peeters* publishes from Cod. Vat. 4863, four of his poems: "Planctus almae

matris ecclesiae," "Deploratio humanae miseriae," "Exhortatio Christianorum contra gentem Mahometi," and "Deploratio hominis." The melodies for the first two are given.

PETRUS DE HIBERNIA. A manuscript in the city library at Erfurt contains the report of a disputation in which Magister Petrus from Ireland, the teacher of the young Thomas of Aquino, takes the leading part. The text is published and discussed by *Baeumker*, who does not regard it as a mere literary fiction, but believes that valid conclusions as to Peter's attitude as a scholar can be drawn from what he says here. The dialogue takes us into the midst of the discussions aroused by the circulation of Aristotle's writings on natural philosophy.

RAPHAEL OF PORNASSIO. In a work preserved in several manuscripts but never printed, Raphael of Pornassio († 1467) attempted to show the harmony between faith (*gratia*) and knowledge (*natura*) by comparing the precepts of the gospels with the corresponding utterances of ancient sages. The tract is dedicated to Pope Nicholas V, the great patron of the humanist movement, and is a protest against the narrowness of those who objected to humanistic studies as being hostile to the church. *Michel* has for the first time given the work a thorough critical examination, and finds that Raphael drew his gospel citations from the harmony of Ammonius, that is, the Latin version of Tatian's Diatessaron, and his ancient sayings mostly from the so-called compilation of Laertius.

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR. Richard (†1173), the successor of Hugh as prior of the chapter of St. Victor in Paris, owes his importance to his share in the development of St. Bernard's mysticism in scholastic form. *Ebner* discusses his system under four heads: (1) nature and meaning of sense-perception according to Richard; (2) cognition by the reason, or non-mystical vision; (3) faith and its development into knowledge; (4) mystical cognition.

SERVASANCTUS. The name of this Franciscan theologian of the end of the thirteenth century has been quite unknown, although his literary activity was considerable. *Kruitwagen* discovered a copy of his chief work, printed in 1485, and has analyzed it. He shows that the title given to it, *Antido-*

tarium animae, is a mistake; the work is rather a *Summa de paenitentia*. — *Grabmann* gives an account of another work, *De exemplis naturalibus*, which he has identified in several manuscripts.

THOMAS AQUINAS. Since the encyclical of Leo XIII, Thomas, the famous native of Aquino, has stood in the forefront of interest for the learned world, as is attested by the number of books and articles about him which fall within our period, and of which we have mentioned only the most important. Even books for the general reader have begun to appear, one of the most successful being that of *Grabmann*, his Introduction to the Personality and General Ideas (*Gedankenwelt*) of Thomas. First published in 1912, it has recently appeared in a third edition, with the historical sections enlarged and brought up to date. It might well be translated into English, as it has already been into Dutch and Spanish, and perhaps it would be desirable that *Grabmann's* second work mentioned above, his Introduction to the Summa, should be combined with it. The present reviewer is acquainted with no book which gives so good an understanding of Thomas's Summa, the greatest product of scholasticism. Its inception, its relation in date and subject matter to Thomas's other writings, its later influence down to the present day, its special method and scope, are all described and brought into relation with the intellectual life of the time in general and Thomas's background of ideas and manner of thought in particular. — It is not necessary to discuss here most of the other books named in the bibliography, as the titles sufficiently indicate their contents. Among them, *Müller's* article is of more general interest, for, although its theme has been often discussed, yet by reason of the author's thoroughly dispassionate attitude it occupies a place by itself. The book may help to dissipate the prejudice that scholastic teaching, including that of Thomas, treated civil government as only the result of sin, for in reality that teaching regarded the State as required by the moral order, although existing in divinely ordained subordination to the Church. — I would also recommend the painstaking and very useful work of *Micheltisch*, who has put together in an alphabetical list, with exact

bibliographical notices, the names of the hundreds of commentators on Thomas's *Summa*, beginning with Peter Crockart († 1514) and Cajetan († 1534). — *Rackl* gives an account of an unprinted polemic by Demetrios Cydones († 1400), minister of the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene, in answer to Neilos Cabasilos, metropolitan of Salonica, who in 1360 had written a tract on the procession of the Holy Ghost, attacking Thomas Aquinas and the union with the Latin church.

WILLIAM OF AUXERRE. *Strake's* work has been subjected to a searching criticism by *Gillmann*, but the latter, great as is his competence in the field of early scholastic sacramental doctrine, goes too far when he requires that Strake should have taken into account the canonistic and theological literature of the end of the twelfth century, even when extant only in unpublished form. *Gillmann's* own additions and corrections from such sources are certainly valuable, but the present reviewer must agree with Geyer, likewise an authority on early scholasticism (see *Abaelard* and *Thomas* above), when he says (*ThRev* 18, 1919, 399) that such objections do not detract from the merit of Strake's book, in which the accessible material is employed with sound historical judgment.

WILLIAM OF WARE. Among the forerunners of Duns Scotus, William of Ware (*doctor fundatus*) deserves special attention. *Daniels* compares his treatise on the prologue to the Sentences of Peter Lombard with the corresponding sections of the *Opus oxoniense* of Scotus.

X. THE GERMAN MYSTICS

DAVID OF AUGSBURG. *Stöckerl, Dagobert*, Bruder David von Augsburg, ein deutscher Mystiker aus dem Franziskanerorden (VKSM 4. 4, 1914). xvi, 284 pp.

EBNER. *Zoeopf, Ludwig*, Die Mystikerin Margarethe Ebner (BKGMR 16, 1914). ix, 177 pp.

ECKEHART. *Büttner, Hermann*, Meister Eckeharts Schriften und Predigten übersetzt und herausgegeben. 2. Aufl. 2 vols. lix, 240; x, 255 pp. Jena, Diederichs, 1917. — *Landauer, Gustav*, Meister Eckeharts mystische Schriften in unsere Sprache übertragen (Verschollene Meister der Literatur 1). 153 pp. Berlin, Schnabel, 1920. — *Lehmann, Walter*, Meister Eckehart (Die Klassiker der Religion, hrsg. von Gustav Pfannmüller 14, 15). iv,

312 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1919. — *Marie, R. van*, De mystieke leer van Meister Eckehart. Haarlem, Poissevain, 1916. — *Strauch, Philipp*, Paradisus anime intelligentis (Paradies der fornuftigen sele). Aus der Oxforder Handschrift Cod. Laud. Misc. 479 herausgegeben (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 30). xl, 170 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1919.

ROLLA. *Lindkvist, H.*, Richard Rolla: Meditatio de passione domini. According to MS. Uppsala C 494. Upsala, Akad. Bokhandel, 1917.

RUYSBROEK. *Huebner, Friedrich Matthes*, Jan van Ruysbroek: Das Buch von den zwölf Beghinen. Aus dem Flämischen [Ausgabe von J. David, 1863] übersetzt. Leipzig, Inselbücherei No. 206, [1917]; Die Zierde der geistlichen Hochzeit, übertragen und herausgegeben. 164 pp. Leipzig, Inselverlag, [1919].

SEUSE. *Gebhardt, Adam*, Die Briefe und Predigten des Mystikers Heinrich Seuse, genannt Suso, nach ihren weltlichen Motiven und dichterischen Formeln betrachtet. Strasburg dissertation (partial publication). vi, 66 pp. Strasburg, Trübner, 1918. — *Heitz, Paul*, Zur mystischen Stilkunst Heinrich Seuses in seinen deutschen Schriften. Jena dissertation (partial publication). xxii, 38 pp. Halle, Karras, 1914. — *Hoyer, Curt*, Stilgeschichtliche Studien über Heinrich Seuses Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit. Kiel dissertation (partial publication). viii, 54 pp. Stuttgart, Hohlhammer, 1915. (Complete in Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 46, 1915, 175–228, 393–443.) — *Nicklas, Anna*, Die Terminologie des Mystikers Heinrich Seuse. Königsberg dissertation. 161 pp. Königsberg, Lankeit, 1914. — *Wilms, Hieronymus*, Der selige Heinrich Seuse. 284 pp. Dülmen, Laumann, 1914.

TAULER. *Strauch, Philipp*, Zu Taulers Predigten (Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache 44, 1919, 1–26). — *Vogt-Terhorst, Antoinette*, Der biblische Ausdruck in den Predigten Johann Taulers. vi, 171 pp. Breslau, Marcus, 1920.

THEOLOGIA DEUTSCH. *Büttner, Hermann*, Das Büchlein vom vollkommenen Leben. Eine deutsche Theologie, in der ursprünglichen Gestalt herausgegeben und übertragen. 2. Aufl. lxiii, 107 pp. Jena, Diederichs, 1920.

THOMAS À KEMPIS. *Pohl, Michael Josephus*, ed., Thomae Hemerken a Kempis: Opera omnia. 4. Band. v, 692 pp. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1918. — *Rebholz, J.*, Thomas von Kempen: Das Lilienthal. xv, 208 pp. Regensburg, Verlagsanstalt, 1920.

The great German mystics stand in the forefront of interest in the Germany of today, for the younger generation is turning to them for inspiration and support in a time of untoward circumstance and inner need. Editions of Eckehart, Seuse, Tauler, and others, published for the general reader, are abundant, but do not call for notice in the present survey, which will be limited to works of some scholarly significance.

DAVID OF AUGSBURG. Most of the so-called German mystics belonged to the Dominican order, but David († 1272), like some

others, was a Minorite. Born in Augsburg, he spent his life as a prefect of novices there, but was known outside, even if not so widely as his more famous pupil, Bertold of Regensburg. His numerous mystical writings, both in Latin and German, are described at length by *Stöckerl*, with critical investigations.

EBNER. *Zöpf* has written an excellent book on the mystical nun, Margarethe Ebner († 1351), who lived for many years in the convent of Medingen, in the diocese of Augsburg. Her revelations, written by herself, portray a life of contemplation. Employing in his discussion the Freudian method of psychoanalysis, which Pastor Pfister of Zürich has applied to religious phenomena, and which attributes the leading part in all mysticism to the sexual subconsciousness, *Zöpf* gives a sympathetic appreciation of the pious nun. The book will give anyone (including readers outside of Germany) a good idea of the nature of German mysticism in the Middle Ages.

ECKEHART. Among the numerous books about Eckehart's literary work and his religious life, *Lehmann's* seems to the present reviewer the best. — *Strauch* gives an interesting collection of sixty-three sermons by Eckehart, now first printed in full from the Oxford manuscript.

SEUSE. The letters and sermons of this celebrated Dominican (critically edited by Karl Bihlmeyer, 1907) have exercised a singular attraction on the present generation. Of late they have also won attention by their literary style. *Gebhardt* discusses the "secular motives" found in them, for Nature, in all her manifestations, fills a large place in Seuse's verbal art, and since these secular motives often occur in poetic guise, or at least in prose nearly related to contemporary or earlier poetry, both spiritual and secular, his poetic formulas invite study. — *Heitz* discusses his style, especially in the mystical language. — *Heyer* endeavors further to show its relation to the general history of literary style. — *Fräulein Nicklas* studies Seuse's use of words with reference to psychological, logical, metaphysical, and mystical expressions.

TAULER. The textual criticism of Johannes Tauler's sermons is unsatisfactory, but *Strauch*, the most learned student of the subject, has made at least a beginning of cataloguing the man-

uscripts, using material which he has been accumulating for many years.

THOMAS À KEMPIS. In concluding this somewhat scanty list, it is a satisfaction to present a laborious but very important work, *Pohl's* complete critical edition of the works of Thomas à Kempis. The *Imitatio Christi* has made the name of Thomas world-famous, but, as is not so generally known, many other ascetic writings came from his pen. The fourth volume of this edition contains the following: *Hortulus rosarum*, *Vallis liliorum* (cf. the German translation by *Rebholz*), *Consolatio pauperum*, *Epitaphium breve monachorum*, *Vita boni monachi* (a didactic poem), *Manuale parvulorum* (cf. Matt. 19, 14), *Doctrinale iuvenum*, and *Hospitale pauperum*, besides one hundred and ten hymns. The hymns comprise nearly twice as many as were previously known, although the genuineness of some needs further examination. The volume also includes the tract in form of a letter entitled *De solitudine et silentio*, together with five shorter letters. The epilegomena, in which the manuscripts and printed editions are critically discussed, show the enormous amount of work involved in the edition. Fifteen facsimiles of manuscripts are added. The seventh volume is to finish the text and the eighth will contain the account of Thomas's life and works.

XI. REFORMERS

HUS. *Hauck, Albert*, Studien zu Johann Hus. Universitäts-programm. 64 pp. Leipzig, Edelmann, 1916. — *Pijper, F.*, Johannes Hus (NAGS 13, 1917, 1-57).

SAVONAROLA. *Schnitzer, Josef*, Savonarola im Streit mit seinem Orden und seinem Kloster. vii, 108 pp. Munich, Lehmann, 1914.

WESSEL GANSFORT. *Rhijn, M. van*, Wessel Gansfort. xi, 263, lxxix pp. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1917; *Impugnatorium M. Antonii de Castro O. P. contra epistolam M. Wessel Groningensis ad M. Jacobus Hoech de indulgentiis*, op nieuw uitgegeven en toegelicht. 84 pp. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1919.

WYCLIF. *Loserth, Johann*, Wiclif-Studien (Zeitschr. des deutschen Vereins für die Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens 20, 1916, 1 ff.); *Johann von Wiclif und Guilelmus Peraldus*, Studien zur Geschichte der Entstehung von Wiclifs Summa theologiae (SAW 180, 3, 1916). 101 pp.; *Johann von Wiclif und Robert Grosseteste, Bischof von Lincoln* (SAW 186, 2, 1918). 83 pp.; *Die kirchenpolitischen Schriften Wiclifs und der englische Bauernaufstand von 1381* (MIOeG 38, 1919, 399-422). — *Pijper, F.*, Johann Wiclif (NAKG 12, 1916, 293-334).

HUS. The substance of *Hauck's* study has since been incorporated in the last volume of his *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (see I, above), but it is important enough to warrant separate mention. Hauck believes that the last word on Hus has not been said, and it is true that in the present unsettled state of criticism the figure of the Czech reformer appears in a less favorable light than that in which his tragic death at Constance had put him. Hauck tries to picture him as he actually was, not as he appeared to the eyes of scholars, who were influenced by sympathy for him either as a Czech (Palacky) or as a precursor of Luther (Lechler). It appears beyond doubt that his convictions rested on a general Catholic foundation, which was never shaken, even by his large acceptance of Wyclif's views, and that he believed at bottom in an hierarchically organized church as the means of salvation. On the other hand, his doctrine, vigorously advocated, that a Christian bound to the *lex evangelica* must refuse obedience to the servants of Antichrist (his name for the clergy of his own time), made peace with the hierarchy impossible. There is further his prejudice in favor of everything Czech (*kritiklose Stellung zum Tschechentum*). One need only compare the likeness of Hus recently made known from the Leitmeritz miniature with his traditional portrait to see for oneself how in his face the features of the fanatic predominated over those of the reformer. —It is still the reformer that *Pijper* sees in Hus, viewing him as the martyr of Constance who refused to subordinate his conscience to the authority of the church. His idea that Hus's attitude was less political and more religious than Wyclif's is questionable. See also under Wyclif below.

SAVONAROLA. *Schnitzer*, who in the past has given abundant proofs of his competence as a student of Savonarola, has introduced a new point of view into the discussion. He shows that a considerable cause of the fall of the prior of San Marco was his disagreement with his own order. In the question of the observance of the rules relating to poverty, Savonarola held the strictest possible view, and denied all right to hold property, even on the part of the order as a corporate body. He further lost the confidence of the brethren in the monastery during his

last trial, not so much by failure at the ordeal by fire as because he was supposed to have assented to the protocol in which it was declared that he had never received divine revelations and that his whole course had been dictated by personal ambition.

WESSEL GANSFORT. *Van Rhijn's* admirable biography is a model of thoroughness and full of instruction. He has not only described fully the circumstances of Wessel's life, especially in the years of travel from 1449 to 1475, but has also written a fresh exposition of his theology. In all this he has been able to build on the foundation laid by van Veen's excellent article in the *Protestantische Realencyclopädie* (vol. 21). The question how far Wessel is to be counted among the "pre-reformers" is also discussed, and appendices deal with the sources, the portraits of Wessel, and the editions of his works. The author disagrees with van Veen in thinking that the first name *Johannes* should be dropped.—*Van Rhijn* has also published a new edition of the *Impugnatorium* of Antonius de Castro, which deals with the curialist understanding of the doctrine of indulgences. On Jacob Hoech, to whom the tract is addressed, see van Rhijn's article in *NAKG* 12, 1916, 209–222.

WYCLIF. *Pijper's* article on Wyclif, although competent and based on original authorities, brings out no new points of view.—*Loserth*, on the contrary, occupies the first place among recent students of the English reformer, and has sensibly increased our knowledge. The contents of his four papers are as follows: (1) Criticism of the Wyclif manuscripts, with special reference to Cod. 1294 of the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, written in England in 1406–07 by two Bohemian students. In a review of recent works on Wyclif and Hus, attention is called to the editions, and articles on Hus, of J. Sedlak (in Bohemian), from which it is now for the first time possible to show that even in his Bohemian writings Hus made use of Wyclif. (2) In his ethics, and in part in his theology, Wyclif was largely dependent on two Franciscan scholars of the thirteenth century, William of Auvergne and William Peraldus (Pérault). The latter in turn was a follower of William of Paris, whose works were also known to Wyclif and used by him. *Loserth* comments

instructively on the life and works of Peraldus, and then shows by numerous examples how largely Wyclif copied from his predecessor. (3) A similar relation to Grosseteste on the part of Wyclif is proved by a comparison of the *Dicta* of the Bishop of Lincoln with Wyclif's *Summa*. Grosseteste's *De praeceptis* could not be used for comparison, as it has never been printed, and the only manuscript, being in England, was not accessible to the Austrian scholar. (4) Wyclif's writings have been used hardly at all for light on the situation of the lower classes in England toward the end of the fourteenth century, although they are directly concerned with the very problems then uppermost in the English world. Loserth shows that in Wyclif's earlier writings no allusions to social conditions are to be found, but that with the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 his sympathy began to show itself, finding expression in his *De blasphemia*. This was followed by his pamphlet *De quatuor sectis novellis*, 1383. From this and from Wyclif's later writings it is plain that his conviction of the necessity of ecclesiastical and economic reforms was not shaken by the violence of 1381. It is to be hoped that Loserth may soon bring together the results of his pioneer work in a comprehensive biography.

XII. NORWEGIAN CHURCH HISTORY

Bang, A. C., Den norske kirkes historie. 519 pp. Christiania, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1914. — *Brynildsen, R. K.*, Om tidsregningen i Olav den helliges historie (Avhandlinger fra Universitets historiske seminar, 1916, 41-120). Christiania, Grøndahl, 1916; Haakon den gode som missionskonge (NHT 4, 1917, 368-381). — *Bugge, Alexander*, Norge og de britiske øer i middelalderen (NHT 2, 1914, 299-378); Kirke og stat i Norge, 1152-1164 (NHT 3, 1916, 169-212). — *Bugge, Anders*, Haslum kirke i Østre Barum (FNFBFA, 1916, 1-30). — *Bull, Edvard*, Der pavelige legat Stephanus i Norge (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter, hist.-filos. Klasse, 1915, 2). 18 pp. Christiania, Dybwad, 1915; Islandske præken motiver i det 14 aarhunderte (NHT 3, 1916, 454-457); Interdiktet mot Sverre (NHT 3, 1916, 321-324). — *Dahl, Daniel*, Hamar Bispegård (FNFBFA, 1916, 50-67). — *Fischer, Gerhard*, Middelalderens bispeborg: Oslo (St. Halvard, 1917, 256-274); Middelalderens Oslo (FNFBFA, 1920, 124-174). — *Johnsen, Oscar Albert*, Olavssaagens genesis (Edda, 1916, 209-224). — *Kielland, Thor*, Fra Munkeliv Birgittiner-kloster, Norges Vadstena (FNFBFA, 1920, 71-90). — *Koht, Halvdan*, Sættargjorda i Tönsberg (NHT 3, 1916, 261-276); Medførte Kristendommens indførelse et magttap for det gamle norske aristokrati (NHT 4, 1917, 409-423). — *Kolsrud, Oluf*, Kristendom og kunst under

gothiken (NHT 7, 1920, 82-114); Olavskirkja i Trondheim (Norske Folkeskriften 63. Norigs Ungdomslag og Studentmaallaget). 132 pp. Christiania, 1914. — *Lund, Fredrik Macody*, Ad Quadratum. Det geometriske system for antikens og middelalderen sacrale bygningskunst, opdaget fra katedralen i Nidaros. 393, xxxvi pp. Helge, Erichson, 1919 — *Nicolaisen, O.*, Flakstad kirke i Lofoten (FNFBFA 1914, 150-152). — *Paasche, Fredrik*, Kristendom og Kvad i norrøn middelalder. 180 pp. Christiania, Aschehoug, 1914; ¹⁴ Den norske stammes overgang til kristendommen (Kirke og Kultur, 1914, 463-480); St. Michael og hans engle. En studie over den katolske skaldediktning, draumkvadet og sarlig Sólarjódt (Edda, 1914, 33-74); Lilja et kvad til Guds moder. 108 pp. Christiania, Aschehoug, 1915; Sverre prest (Edda, 1915, 197-212); Kong Sverre. 303 pp. Christiania, Aschehoug, 1920. — *Pettersen, Fredrik*, Bamle Stenkirke i Bratsberg amt (FNFBFA, 1914).

The following notices, which I owe to the courtesy of Professor Mowinckel and Mr. Finn Bader, student in theology at Christiania, reached me too late to be incorporated with the main text, and must be placed in a separate chapter. Some are of interest for local history only, others will claim the attention of scholars outside of Norway also.

In the compendium of Norwegian church history by *Bang*, the chapters on the Middle Ages occupy the largest space and are also in subject matter the most important. — *Brynildsen* deals with the chronology of King Olaf Haraldson, and finds that the dates given by the Icelandic chronicler Snorre are more trustworthy than is commonly supposed. (See also Bull.) — *Bugge* discusses the close relations between Norway and the British Isles, the interest for church history lying in the part played by the Archbishop of Nidaros (Trondheim), whose ships for more than a century furnished the means of intercourse with England. English priests sometimes held incumbencies in Norway. *Bugge's* second article is on the relation of church and state at the time of the erection of the archdiocese of Nidaros by Cardinal Nicholas in 1152. This year is a turning point in Norwegian history. Up to that date Norway had lain outside the general current of ecclesiastical development; the peasants had built the churches and owned them. But with the year 1152 the newly established cathedral

¹⁴ Cf. *Edvard Lehmann*, Vorefaders omvendelse i anledning av Fredrik Paasche: Kristendom og Kvad (Kirke og Kultur, 1914, 103-110) and *F. Paasche* (ib. 251-255); also the critical discussions in NoTT, 1915, 140-183.

chapters and the bishops acquired greater influence, both in church and state. King Magnus Erlingsson at that time received land in fee from Saint Olaf, that is from the church. — On the authority of an hitherto unnoticed document, *Bull* believes that he has proved that the legate Stephen of Orvieto, who was in Norway at the coronation of King Magnus, had come with a mandate from the pope as a missionary to the Norwegian people. He further shows that King Sverre was only threatened with the interdict by Innocent III, not subjected to it. — *Johnsen* treats of the accounts of the life and deeds of Olaf Haraldson which served as source for the Olaf-saga of Snorre. — *Kielland* tells the story of the Munkeliv convent in Bergen after it was transformed into a convent of St. Birgitta in 1426. It soon gained wealth and power, and artistic weaving was specially cultivated there. — *Koht* points out that the Concordat of Törnberg (1277) was not so favorable to the church as has been inferred from the letter of the document. He shows further (in opposition to the views of J. G. Sars) that the introduction of Christianity into Norway did not cause any loss of power to the aristocracy, but that the nobles assumed the oversight of the churches and maintained a close connection with the church. This continued after the organization of the church in 1152 (see Bugge, above), so that the later struggle of the monarchy with the aristocracy was at the same time a contest with the church. — *Lund* asserts that in all the more important ecclesiastical architecture of the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, a definite geometrical system of proportions was followed, and by observing this he thinks it possible to reconstruct the cathedral of Nidaros in its mediaeval form, even in detail. His view has called forth vigorous opposition from architects and students of the history of art, but has also found convinced adherents. — *Paasche* has also roused much discussion by his attack upon the important question of how far Christianity succeeded in influencing the life of the Norwegian people during the Middle Ages. Basing his studies on the religious element in the old songs (*kvad*), he comes to the conclusion that the conversion to Christianity was not a matter of outward form alone but that by the year 1300 the

new religion was firmly rooted in the inner life of the people, and that the latter was suffused by the spirit and moved by the forces of European catholicism. — In commenting on this view, *Lehmann* denies that the religious songs justify so sweeping an assertion, while *Bull* (NoTT) does not believe the effect was so profound as *Paasche* holds.—*Koht* (NoTT) on the contrary agrees with *Paasche* in the main, and accepts his proof that Christianity early exerted its influence on the poetry of the scalds, although this influence became dominant only about the year 1400, with “*Lilja*,” a song in honor of the Virgin Mary by an Icelandic monk, Brother *Øistein*. *Paasche* has translated this poem, with a commentary. In another paper he traces the part of St. Michael in the scald poetry, and in the last book named in the bibliography describes the life and activities of King Sverre (see *Bull*). Toward the king, whose legitimacy was sharply attacked by contemporaries, he is sympathetic, in contrast to the skepticism of recent historians. A more cautious tone (for instance with regard to the stories of Sverre’s dreams) would be advisable.

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